

AUGUST, 1938

TEN CENTS

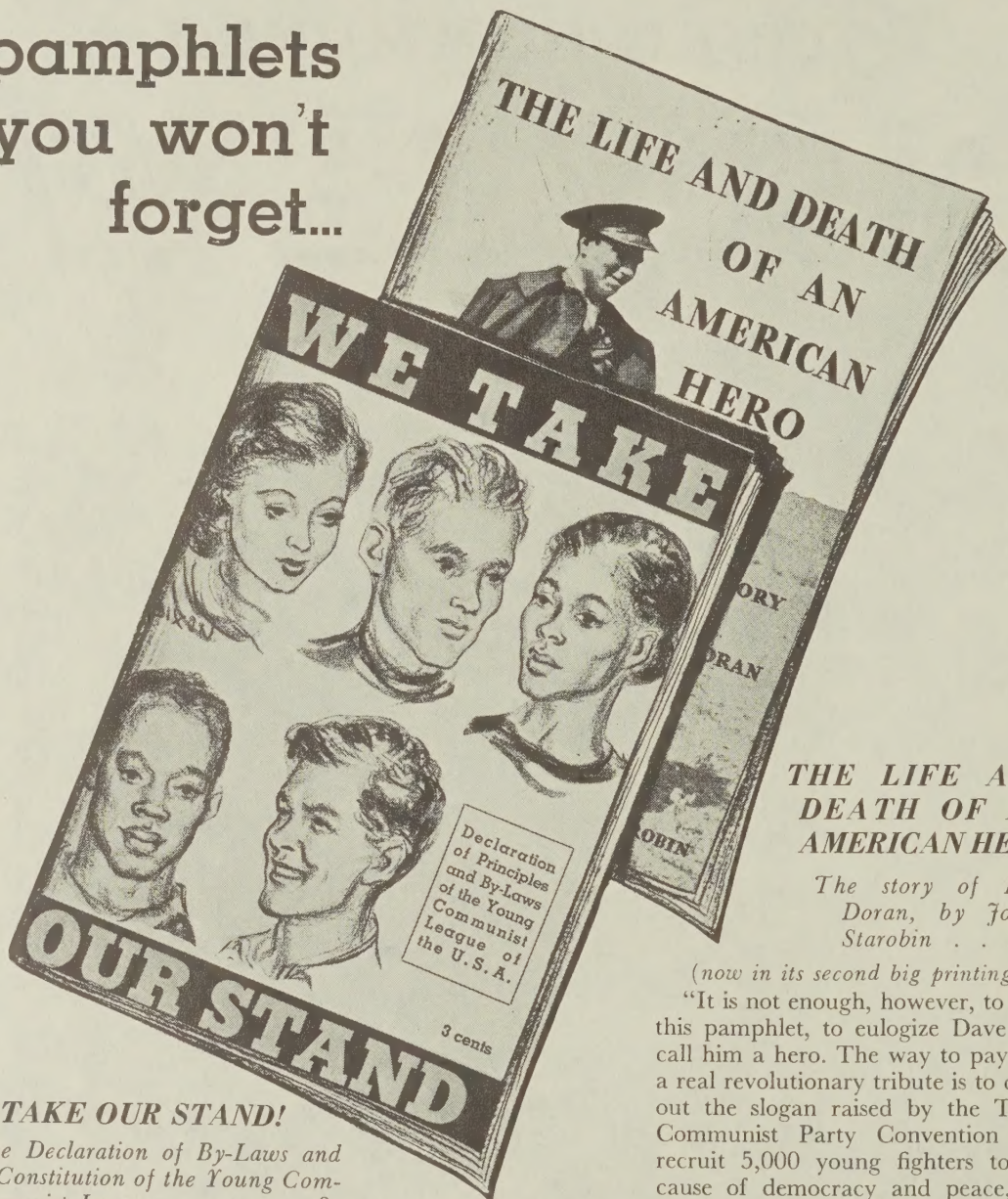
YOUNG COMMUNIST
REVIEW



Raymond Guyot, Secretary, Young Communist International

Articles by ALEX BITTELMAN - GIL GREEN
R. P. DUTT - THEODORE DRAPER - M. LITVINOV
WORLD YOUTH CONGRESS NUMBER

...pamphlets
you won't
forget...



**THE LIFE AND
DEATH OF AN
AMERICAN HERO**

The story of Dave
Doran, by Joseph
Starobin . . . 5c

(now in its second big printing)

"It is not enough, however, to read this pamphlet, to eulogize Dave and call him a hero. The way to pay him a real revolutionary tribute is to carry out the slogan raised by the Tenth Communist Party Convention and recruit 5,000 young fighters to the cause of democracy and peace, the cause for which Dave Doran unhesitatingly gave his life. Just as Dave Doran emerged as a leader among the 3,500 Americans fighting with the Spanish people to preserve their land, so we must develop many new leaders to replace Dave Doran."

—STEVE NELSON, Daily Worker
June 9, 1938

WE TAKE OUR STAND!

The Declaration of By-Laws and
Constitution of the Young Com-
munist League 3c

If you want to know what the Young Communist League stands for, something to keep with you for reference, a pamphlet to give to a fellow worker or a fellow student about the aims and principles of the YCL . . . here it is. Adopted by the 8th convention of the YCL, May, 1937.

NEW AGE PUBLISHERS, P. O. Box 28 Station D, New York City

GREETINGS TO THE SECOND WORLD YOUTH CONGRESS

• **T**HE World Youth Congress is not a communist organization. To the best of our knowledge, rather few communists will attend the second congress in Vassar College, Poughkeepsie on the 16th of August. The Communists did not initiate in the World Youth Congress, and are today only one group of its many supporters.

We understand the Congress to be the collaborating center of youth of many lands, nations, faiths, colors, and political beliefs. We understand the Congress will attract hundreds of delegates whose political understanding of the world today is by no means as clearly defined as that of the Communist movement.

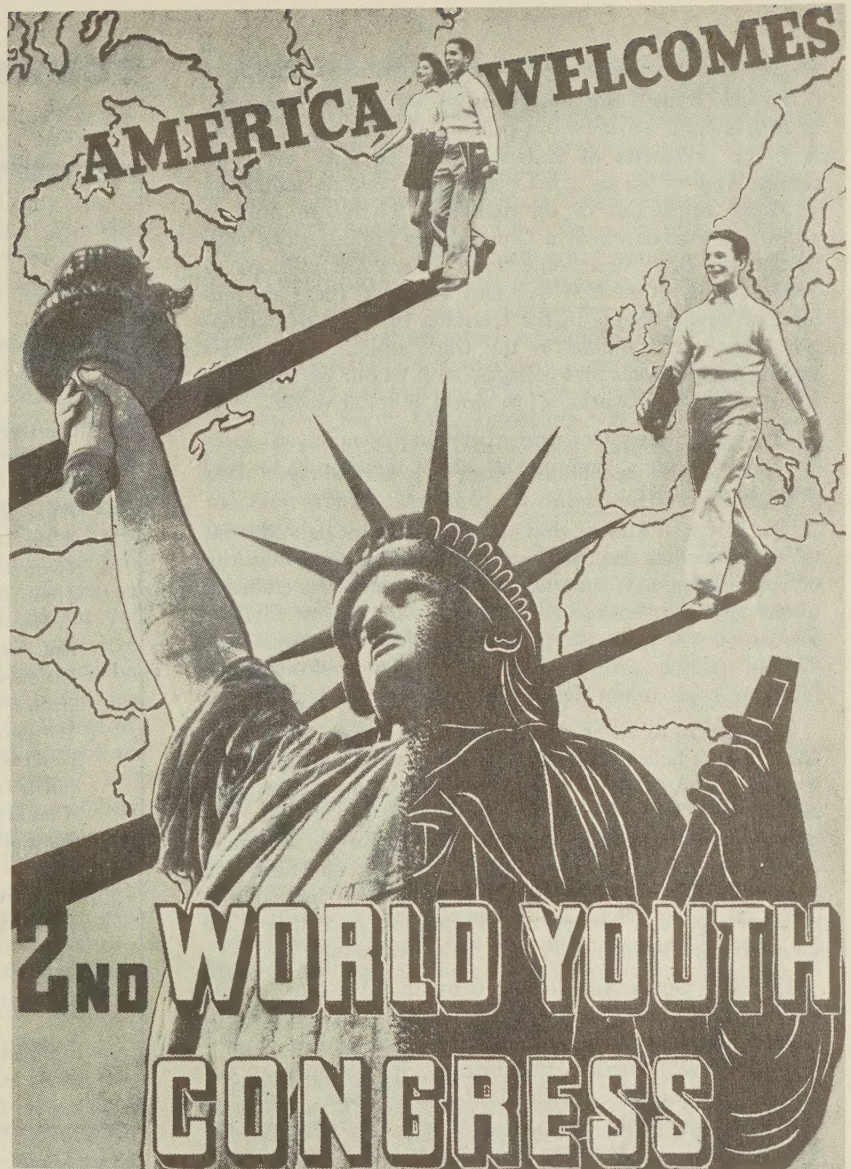
Young men and women, from small countries and large . . . countries where liberty glows and countries where liberty has been smothered . . . young men and women of every religious faith . . . all these to the number of more than 500 are already on their way from the four corners of the globe to attend the Second World Youth Congress.

No, this is not "our" Congress. But it important, we think, to understand why the Young Communists in the United States and in all lands have supported the World Youth Congress. It is important, we think, that our enemies should understand why we support and have worked for the World Youth Congress. And it important that our friends should understand why we have worked alongside of them to insure its success.

Why?

Certainly, not from any consideration of our own political gain; not because we have "nests to feather" or "axes to grind." Not because we intend to trounce our political opponents, undermine other youth organizations, corrode anyone's religious convictions, or impose our own will on other people.

On the contrary. In greeting the Second World Youth Congress we declare that for us the Congress is valuable precisely because we see in it the growing unity of the youth



Courtesy, World Youth Congress

of the world against those who would undermine youth organizations, forbid the expression of religious convictions, brutally impose their own will upon other people.

We see in the World Youth Congress . . . the confluence of the progressive voices among the international ranks of youth, trying to find a solution to their own problems in their own way. We see in the World Youth Congress the beginnings of a mighty movement among young people to preserve their free institutions, and gain freedom for youth to whom freedom is denied. We see a movement to achieve improved economic conditions for the youth . . . more chances for study, work, marriage and health.

Above all, the World Youth Congress will concern itself with the problem of stopping and preventing war. That is the major subject on its order of business. And rightly so, for it is the chief problem that confronts the youth of the whole world. How to prevent the holocaust? How to curb the baby-bombers? How to stave off the bayonet . . . how

to keep the shrapnel and tank from inheriting civilization?

To our minds, the objectives of social and economic betterment, the objectives of peace and international goodwill, the objectives of fraternity and equality are good things. And we know that Communists have no monopoly of these aspirations of all mankind. Their are millions more than are enrolled in Communists organizations with whom we share these objectives. There are millions of young people in the YMCA's and YWCA's; there are millions of young people in the churches of every denomination, there are millions in the trade unions, settlements houses, high schools and colleges, with whom we share the ideals of a warless world, a just world, a better world.

To support their Congress, therefore, is merely to show that we, as Young Communists, share their problems and share their ideals.

But it is well known that we also have ideals and aims which are not at this moment shared by the great majority of young people. We are not *only* in favor of the embargo of the aggressor nations. We are not *only* against fascism. We are not *only* in support of the heroic Spanish and Chinese peoples. We are not *only* in favor of academic freedom, trade union rights, higher living standards.

In addition to all of this, as everyone knows, the Young Communists believe in and strive for a socialist society. To us, the action of the Russian people, in conjunction with almost two hundred nationalities that live within the borders of the old Czarist empire, the forthright action in ending the exploitation of man by man and in building a new social order is an inspiration. Because it indicates to us what men and women can accomplish once they have taken the rudder of history into their own hands.

In other words, we do not deny that we look to the establishment of a Socialist society in which war will be impossible, economic want unnecessary, and national oppression unknown. America is historically ripe for such an advance in civilization. America is objectively ripe . . . she has the plant, the laboratories, the mines, the resources, the human skill . . . but you delegates to the World Youth Congress will find as you travel through our country that the great proportion of the American people are not yet ready for the realization of this goal. You will find that American youth are as yet unprepared for Socialism.

But you will also find as you partake of American hospitality that the great majority of the American youth are disturbed, puzzled, upset, anxiously looking around for some clue to the meaning of the events of the past decade.

The American youth of today is a different kind of youth than you may have heard about. It is the youth of the 'thirties. The youth which lacks economic opportunity. Youth without jobs. Youth without a chance for marriage. Youth which depends to a certain degree upon government support in the form of WPA, NYA, and the CCC camps. Youth which has gone across to Spain, in several thousand, to help defeat fascism. Above all, youth which wants a new deal, wants to preserve democracy and wants to enjoy it. Negro youth, Catholic youth, Christian youth . . . indus-

YOUNG COMMUNIST REVIEW

EDITOR Joseph Starobin

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trial, student, farm youth: all are anxious to keep America free from fascism and solve the problems of economic recovery by democratic methods.

We young Communists support these ambitions and desires. Just the way we support and greet the Second World Youth Congress. Because these desires are also our own; because we, as part of American youth, have everything to lose by the outbreak of a new world war, by the moral and economic ruin of our generation.

Therefore, we greet your Congress and wish it success.

Therefore, we urge that you look closely at America. And while you deliberate upon the problems of achieving, preserving, and extending peace throughout the world . . . take back to your own countries, the memory of American youth . . . struggling against reaction and social decay . . . struggling for the fulfillment of democracy in that country which gave democracy to the world, one hundred and seventy five years ago.

Progress Among the Young Democrats

● THE Young Democrats of America have just concluded a national pre-election rally in Seattle from July 14 to 16. It is gratifying to progressive American youth to note that the main tone of the rally was for the "New Deal" and the progressive measures of President Roosevelt and, therefore, against the reactionaries of the Garner type who attempt to block and sabotage recovery and progress.

James Farley, in the principal address, stated in speaking of the youth that "no one in America is so deeply concerned in the reforms made and proposed by the Roosevelt administration for the preservation of democracy, liberty, and human rights; for today we are necessarily building for tomorrow, and tomorrow belongs to you."

Placing the issue squarely that the Hoovers and Landon are "not for progress but for reaction," Farley urged the election of a Congress committed to support the program of Roosevelt because "the political complexion of that Congress will determine whether the President you have elected will carry out the mandate you yourselves have given him." This is in fact the immediate issue before the people. The young voters must join in united support of a single progressive candidate for each elective office in the 1938 elections to defeat the candidates of reaction regardless of the party label they may carry.

That the National Committee urged full support of the "New Deal" as the platform of the Young Democrats and called for a broad organizational campaign including the organization of Democratic first voters clubs, is a hopeful sign that the Young Democrats will more actively engage in organizing the forces of youth for democracy and progress. But general declarations of support for the "New Deal" need to be implemented by active support for specific progressive legislative measures.

The emphasis placed by the Rally on organizing a campaign against social diseases and for a national health program is a step in that direction. This needs to be followed by energetic support to the Report of the President's Advisory Committee on Education which was endorsed by the Washington State Convention of Young Democrats, and to other specific measures designed to guarantee jobs and opportunity for the youth and recovery for the nation.

A consistent fight for such a program would be the surest guarantee of the growth of the Young Democrats as a major progressive force among the youth and a factor in determining the outcome of the 1938 elections in favor of the camp of progress.

The Young Democrats took no clear-cut position in support of the peace policy advocated by the President in his famous speech calling for "quarantining the aggressor." And this was a most serious omission. A declaration commending the President on this bold stand for world peace cooperation and urging him to carry out a consistent "good neighbor" policy would have greatly strengthened the forces working for peace. It is not too late for the progressives everywhere, in the ward clubs and state movements, to raise this vital issue of struggle against war.

That a number of speakers including prominent New Dealers engaged in "red baiting" was most unfortunate. Of course, we do not expect and do not ask for the endorsement of Communism by the Young Democrats, and have no quarrel with honest progressives who wish to make clear to reactionaries that they are not Communists when the whole world knows they are not. But a warning is in place that "red baiting" tactics can only encourage the Tories and copperheads within the Democratic Party and Young Democrats to attack more boldly every progressive measure under the guise of an attack on Communism.

In every state and particularly in the South, where Tory reactionaries attempt to maintain a stranglehold on the Democratic Party, the progressives will undoubtedly proceed after this Rally and in keeping with its spirit, to build their organization as a movement dedicated to "keep democracy safe by keeping it moving forward" as Roosevelt has urged.

Whether or not the Young Democrats will make a significant contribution to maintaining democracy in our country will depend upon whether they build their organization along progressive lines, and practice true democracy in their own activity.

Help for Spain and China

● THE news that the Chinese and the Spanish delegations to the Second World Youth Congress are going to tour the country and speak to American audiences should awake an enthusiastic response in the ranks of our Young Communist League. We have a real opportunity to show our devotion to our Chinese and Spanish brothers, to their struggle for national independence against the aggression of the fascist powers, and to the great traditions of the American people.

But this devotion and these tours must be organized. There is not an organization, not a man or a woman in our country who is not profoundly indignant at the vicious bombings of the open cities in Spain and China by the fascist bombers. All are interested and all must be reached with the message of these delegations. That indignation must be given form and should result in concrete material aid to these embattled peoples.

Every religious, cultural, sports, organization should be contacted and asked to support the meetings. Every trade union without exception should be on the welcoming committee. These young men and women, some of whom come direct from the line of battle are real big news and our newspapers should know about them and about their tours. The city officials should be proud to welcome these visitors from distant lands and should be asked to participate in all meetings and welcomes.

The similarity of the struggle in both countries and the inequality of our Neutrality Law, applied in one case and not in another, can certainly be a powerful motive to arouse a yet stronger movement for the repeal of the Embargo on arms to Spain and for more open help to China. The youth of America, profoundly concerned as to the future of

their own country, must take these people from Spain and China to their hearts.

Their struggle against international fascism is ours and that knowledge among our people will help guarantee their and our victory. Let us help make their tours of such popular importance that they will return to their homelands more confident than ever in our solidarity and their own victory.

The Christian Youth Confer

● **SOMEONE** must get on fire . . . Christian youth with the cooperation of their elders must be engaged in 'Building a New World.' . . . The young people who have helped to bring this movement into being are convinced that the ten million Protestant youth of North America must find effective means of expressing their convictions in personal and organized action."

With these objectives, two hundred and fifty Christian young people from every part of the nation gathered at the biennial meeting of the Christian Youth Council of North America in Columbus, Ohio at the last of June. These young people seek the application of their Christian principles to a progressive democratic solution of the problems of economic crisis, racial, religious, and political discrimination and international conflict. They have planned a program of Christian study and action, associating themselves and the United Christian Youth Movement with currents of other progressive youth, such as the American Youth Congress and the World Youth Congress.

The impact of world events found echo at this conference which expressed deep concern over the need for halting war. Groping for a clear policy, the Christian youth leaders indicated their departure from traditional isolationism, when they declared: "The alternatives today are 'world order or world anarchy.' As Christians we must act for the re-establishment of loyalty to the international community and for international co-operation to bring about the brotherhood of man. To accomplish this we must build toward the universal moral bases which lead to the universal respect of international law and justice. . ."

In the Peace ommission which affirmed this stand, there were evidences of considerable confusion. For instance, the Commission voted to "Lift the Embargo" on Loyalist Spain, but also endorsed a program of complete "neutrality." The Christian youth leaders called for the non-recognition of the gains of the aggressors, but failed to underline the need for political and economic sanctions against the aggressors. Supporting the World Youth Congress at Vassar in August, the conference neglected to emphasize the need for a policy of concerted peace action.

The fine hand of the YPSL-dominated "Youth Committee Against War" is discernible in the outlines of this confusion, but there is little doubt that by cooperation with the progressive youth groups in the United States these hesitations on the part of the Christian youth will be overcome.

For Better Distribution of Literature

● **WITH** this, our sixth issue this year, we are beginning a drive for the examination of how to boost the sale of the *Young Communist Review*. Readers will observe that the questionnaire on the back inside cover (which every reader should fill out) is the preparation for the circulation drive.

But let us make a few suggestions for the improvement of literature sales as well as *Review* circulation.

First of all, every state and city organization in the YCL has got to undertake the improvement of literature distribution in the branches on the League. Let every state, city, and branch executive ask himself: How well is literature being sold in the branches? How effectively and dramatically is literature being presented?

Secondly, are all funds for literature and the *Review* promptly forwarded to the state and national offices? Are all bills being paid within 30 days? Are proper records being kept? Are responsible people in charge?

Thirdly, the National Resident Board proposes that the initiation fee of 5c that is now charged to members joining the YCL should be voluntarily raised to 10c. The extra nickel should be used for the purchase of literature from the National Literature Department. This five cents worth of literature should be given free to every new member joining the Young Communist League.

For instance, although we have made considerable progress, there is not yet an efficient distribution of the magazine and of general literature in the lower units of the YCL. There are members in cities and towns who probably never heard of the *Young Communist Review* . . . and there are entire areas, vast areas, which do not buy their literature systematically and directly from the National Literature Department.

This month we establish a "booby corner." In this corner

BOOBY CORNER FOR JULY

California: owes \$19.70 for May and \$26.25 for June. Received no issues for July. State Secretary is **Dick Criley**.

Connecticut: owes \$2.93, and has not received June nor July issues. State Secretary is **Harry Kay**.

Missouri: owes \$5.00 for May and \$2.63 for June. Received no issues in July. State Secretary is **Clara Wernick**.

Indiana: owes \$1.50 for May and \$1.88 for June. Received no July issues. State Secretary is **Alma Lee**.

we print the names of the state organizations and their state secretaries and who have been lax in ordering and paying for the *Young Communist Review*.

Our purpose is to bring these facts to the whole membership, and thereby lead to the correction of an impossible situation.

AMERICA'S FOREIGN POLICY

The American Government Does Not Yet Base Its Actions Upon the Deep Desire for Peace Among the People

Illustrations by GROPPER

IT IS not difficult to state what America's foreign policy should be, at least in its main objectives and outlines. But it is quite a different matter to trace the foreign policy actually pursued by the government of the United States. Here we confront innumerable complications and inconsistencies arising partly from mistaken calculations, simply wrong judgements; but which find their full explanation in the relationship of forces between the camp of progress and the camp of reaction within the country as well as abroad.

None the less it is possible to identify certain *attitudes* and *aspirations* which seem to guide the foreign policies of the Roosevelt administration. These are the policy of *the good neighbor* and the call for *quarantining the aggressor*. Together these two propositions constitute a very definite orientation towards an active and positive policy of peace. But only an orientation. To produce the policy itself, and to make it effective in the struggle to check the fascist aggressors, more than an orientation towards peace is necessary. Much more.

THE GOOD NEIGHBOR POLICY

Take for example the policy of the good neighbor as it actually works out. Here two questions can be asked legitimately. Are we really practicing a policy of the good neighbor? Do our neighbors respond in the same spirit?

Since the good neighbor policy has special relevance to our relations with the nations and countries of Latin America, it is naturally there that we can best see how it works. And these we find that, on the whole, the Roosevelt administration has been trying to be a good neighbor but the results as yet have not been all that is desired, all that is necessary, all that is possible.

By ALEX BITTELMAN

The reasons for this will be found within our own country, within the countries of Latin America and on the international scene generally.

In our own country, the reactionary pro-fascist cliques of Wall Street have systematically hampered and obstructed the more consistent application of the good neighbor policy by the Roosevelt administration; and in this they were ably seconded by certain reactionary elements in the State Department. Wall Street reaction claims that the Roosevelt good neighbor policy is a one-sided affair, that we do all the giving while the Latin Americans do all the taking, pointing to the "failure" of the administration to punish more severely the Mexican government and people for asserting their inalienable right to national freedom and independence against the rapacious pro-fascist oil-monopolies of the United States and England. The brazen arrogance of these claims and assertions needs no comment when it is remembered that these and similar monopolies have been robbing and despoiling the Latin American peoples for decades perpetuating in those countries the worst forms of feudal reaction and semi-slavery.

AMERICAN NATIONAL INTERESTS

Nor is it necessary to show, what is quite obvious, that the Roosevelt good neighbor policy does not in the least surrender the class interests of the American bourgeoisie or the national interests and position of the United States. Quite the contrary. A *consistent* application of the Roosevelt good neighbor policy in Latin America is *the only way* in the present world situation to maintain effectively the national in-

terests and position of the United States. This is a fundamental thing to remember. An abandonment of the good neighbor policy in Latin America, or too much inconsistency in its application, means nothing more nor less than this: that the fascist aggressors will find their way made much easier than heretofore to further penetrate and subjugate the peoples of Latin America to the detriment and danger of the cause of democracy *as well as* of the national interests and position of the United States.

INDISPENSABLE ALLIES

Upon examination it turns out therefore that the reactionary monopolies in the United States are precisely the ones that would seem to be ready to sacrifice and betray the national interests and position of the United States if only they could by doing so preserve the narrow and selfish interests of their cliques and groups.

But the American people must judge and act differently. The workers, farmers, middle classes—the nation, in short, is interested vitally in the most consistent and sincere application of the good neighbor policy in Latin America, from every conceivable point of view. The nation is interested in this policy for its own sake: because the Latin American peoples are the most *indispensable allies* of the American people in the struggle for the maintenance and development of democracy, for the maintenance of peace. They are also the most indispensable allies of the American people for the maintenance of the national position of the United States. Peace and democracy, as Comrade Browder eloquently proved at the 10th national convention of the Communist Party, is a *national* interest of this country and the democratic front

of the people is the best and only champion of this national interest. Consequently, we need a more consistent application of the good neighbor policy. And this means, in the first instance, a more determined struggle to curb the power of the pro-fascist monopolies which are seeking to undermine and destroy this policy.

LATIN AMERICAN RESPONSIBILITY

Another obstacles to a fuller development of the good neighbor policy rests in Latin America itself. It comes naturally from those reactionary circles of large feudal landowners and native flunkies of the foreign monopolies who are playing the game of the fascist aggressors, thus sacrificing the national interests of their own countries and peoples. But these fortunately are not the only forces in Latin America, although they still enjoy considerable power. There are other forces, the overwhelming majority of the peoples of Latin America and their democratic and national spokesmen. To these belongs the future of their countries. These are the allies of the American people. And with these we must work if the good neighbor policy is to succeed. Consequently, the American government is vitally interested in rendering steady support to the democratic and truly national forces in the Latin American countries as the only reliable foundation for our good neighbor policies. Only by fulfilling this condition will we be able—will the American government be able—to make effective use of the contradictions that exist within the fascist camp itself.

A final obstacle to the fuller realization of the good neighbor policy comes from the war-making fascist powers, from Germany, Italy and Japan, aided by the pro-fascist policies of Chamberlain in England. It is from these fascist aggressors and warmakers that the chief obstacle arises for the successful working out of the good neighbor policy in Latin America. This needs no elaborate proof because these are the countries that seek to foist their barbaric domination over Latin America. And, to the extent that the Chamberlain policies are passing from indirect to direct support of the fascist aggres-

sors, notably in Spain, in Austria, also in China and thus also in Latin America, to this extent the Chamberlain government, which the British people increasingly detest and distrust, is becoming an obstacle to the successful



Courtesy, New Masses

realization of Roosevelt's good neighbor policy in Latin America.

CHAMBERLAIN MUST GO

This is a very serious matter. Chamberlain, like the pro-fascist monopolists in all bourgeois-democratic countries, is willing to sacrifice the national interests of England in order to protect the super-privileges of a narrow clique of reactionary finance capitalists. In doing so, he is endangering the peace and democracy of the world as well as the national positions of England. He is also feeding and inflaming the latent Anglo-American imperialist contradictions in which he is effectively aided by our own pro-fascist finance capitalists. And, at this point, he is working contrary to the good neighbor policy of the Roosevelt administration.

WHAT CAN BE DONE?

Can we do anything effective about it? Yes, we can. The American people can, and the American government can. There are several things that can be done at once, listing the most important and practical ones.

1. *Lift the embargo from the Republican government of Spain.* The President has the right and power to do it. Will that be effective in removing, or neutralizing, the obstacles to our good neighbor policy? Of course, it will. Nothing that we can do at the present time will so effectively, and at once, weaken the impact of fascist aggression everywhere than the lifting of the embargo upon Republican Spain. By helping to defeat Franco, we would be checking a major war strategy of the fascist aggressors—of Germany, Italy and Japan—the major obstacle to the success of our good neighbor policy. We would effectively counteract the pro-fascist and anti-good neighbor machinations of Chamberlain thus assisting the further rise and eventual victory of the democratic and peace front in England. We would be defending the national positions of the United States because the victory of Republican Spain is a national interest of our country and people.

2. *Aid to China in its heroic struggle against the Japanese aggressors.* This too can be started at once. Material aid of all sorts. And one needs no proof for our vital interest in the victory of the Chinese people, of the victory of their national unity and democracy. The American government possesses today sufficient right, power, and resources to start such aid moving to China. And this would be also the most effective preparation for revising the so-called neutrality laws when the next Congress assembles, as intimated by Senator Pittman.

3. *More consistent application of the good neighbor policy in Latin America.* This is fully in our own hands. Therefore we must seek to overcome all obstacles to the full application of this policy in true accord with the dictates of democracy, peace, and respect for the national rights and interests of all concerned. And being the strongest nation on this hemisphere, we must be particularly scrupulous to respect the national interests of the weaker ones.

4. *Support for the peace policies of the Soviet Union.* There are many ways in which the American government can render such support even within the limitations of present day American

foreign policy. The plain truth of the matter is that the United States will not be able to develop further its good neighbor policy; in fact, this policy may be wrecked by the continued advance of the fascist aggressors aided by Chamberlain, if the American government does not come forward with frank support for the peace policies of the Soviet Union. If world peace is a national interest of the United States, then support for the peace policies of the Soviet Union—the strongest bulwark of world peace—is an American national interest too.

All of which takes us to the other guiding orientation of American foreign policy—the demand to quarantine the aggressors.

Important as this orientation is, first proclaimed in the President's famous Chicago speech, it has so far produced few tangible results. Why? Certainly not because it has proven incorrect. Everything that has happened since the

cowardly conduct of the pro-fascist monopolies in France have produced and continue to produce all sorts of obstacles for the American government to start to realize its orientation for quarantining the aggressors. Yet in both of these countries there are powerful democratic and peace forces, having the same orientation as our government, and struggling to make their policies effective. But the American government has done mighty little that is visible to encourage and strengthen these peace forces. There is Republican Spain and China—and what has the American government done to encourage them? It has done a good deal to discourage them. (Think of the shameful embargo on Republican Spain and the "neutrality" in China.) Finally, there is the Soviet Union, exerting all its efforts in the same direction as the President's general orientation. And what has our government done to demonstrate that it supports these efforts? Mighty little, if anything. Is this the way to move towards the realization of a policy of quarantining the aggressors? Hardly. It is a peculiar sort of motion where the head bends forward while the rest of the body is trying to move backward.

OVERCOMING ISOLATION

Of course, the pressure of isolationism has been, and still is, a serious obstacle. In fact, within the country this is the main obstacle to an effective American foreign policy working for peace. That is why our main efforts must be directed among the masses to dissipate the still existing, although weakening isolation illusions, to expose the "neutrality" machinations of the pro-fascist circles of the monopolies, to bring to light the treacherous role of the Lovestone-Trotsky agents of fascism in the isolation and "neutrality" movements. This is our central job in the process of helping the masses to organize a true people's peace movement capable of making our government apply a consistent good neighbor policy, helping the government to overcome the obstacles to the realization of such a policy, and bringing about such actions as will really begin to realize the orientation of quarantining the aggressors. This is our big job—the job in which the youth of the country is already playing and will play an ever

increasing role, and in which the Young Communist League will have great tasks to accomplish.

"FORTUNE" SURVEY

Because of that, we should be mindful of the fact that the masses of the people are continually moving *away* from isolationism. This cannot be disputed. With all due regard to the one-sidedness of such polls of public opinion as that of *Fortune* magazine, even its survey can be taken as indicative of certain mass trends. And these show that a majority of the people approve of the President's foreign policies. They approve, that is, of the general attitude and orientation expressed in the policy of the good neighbor and in the aspiration that a way ought to be found for checking the warmakers. In other polls the majority of the people have indicated an overwhelming sympathy for Republican Spain and for China. Still other polls have indicated that wide masses of Americans consider the Soviet Union a great bulwark of peace whose policies deserve to be supported by the United States.

In the face of these trends of public opinion, we venture to say that the Roosevelt administration has not taken sufficient heed of these attitudes of the people in the prosecution of its foreign policies; that the government has failed to *base itself* upon these attitudes of the people to carry on a more positive and effective policy of checking the fascist aggressors. The time is arriving when the Roosevelt administration can no longer afford to miss the opportunity; for the danger is real that its entire foreign policy may be wrecked by the advance of the fascist aggressors.

DEMOCRACY MUST SPEAK

The camp of democracy must speak out in favor of a positive and effective policy of peace, urging it more insistently upon the government and supporting it in this struggle. And, in the first instance, the American working class, and the great American youth, must come forward more unitedly and with greater determination, to enable this country to play its proper part in the defense of peace, in the preservation and development of democracy, in the maintenance of the national position of this country.



Courtesy, New Masses

President spoke those words proves that a policy of quarantining the fascist aggressors is the only way of preventing another world war, the only way of defending democracy and of maintaining the national positions of the United States.

ENGLAND AND AMERICA

Of course, the Chamberlain pro-fascist policies in England and the

WHAT ABOUT THE CATHOLICS?

THE menace of war stops at no borders—it is international. It stops at no doorsteps—it is non-sectarian. Therefore, the movement against war if it is to be effective, must likewise be world-wide and all inclusive.

This is the proposition in a nut-shell. It is that simple. It needs no college degree to be understood—just a bit of good old common sense.

Yet this simple thought is the central idea behind the great World Youth Congress. Without it, the congress could never have been conceived. With it, youth throughout the world are beginning to cast aside old shibboleths of fear, are learning to break through formidable barriers of language, custom, religious and political differences.

In this growing trend away from separatism and disunity the *Young Communist League* sees hope for the future. That is why have given and will continue to give our unstinted cooperation to the American Youth Congress, to the World Youth Congress and to every movement which promotes fellowship and unity in the ranks of the younger generation.

FASCISM THREATENS ALL

We do so for no partisan reasons. True, we stand for socialism. True, we believe that socialism and socialism alone can finally achieve a world brotherhood with peace on earth and good will towards men. But war threatens today. It threatens us all. It makes no distinction between race, color or creed. It cynically disregards human personality, religious, or political beliefs. Whether we like it or not it has flung us together into one boat—Jew and Gentile, Catholic and Protestant, republican and Communist, American and non-American. Alike we are its potential victims. Will we row in unison to peaceful shores, or will we be battered and overwhelmed by the rising sea of fascist aggression?

This is the question. No sincere friend of peace can ignore it. No responsible youth organization or leadership can afford to evade it.

By GIL GREEN

The vast majority of America's youth organizations have answered this question in the affirmative. They may still be confused as to which is the surest and safest harbor to head for, but they are convinced that only cooperative team-work will get them there. That is why they have endorsed the World Youth Congress. That is why their representatives will make up the American delegation to this historic gathering.

CATHOLICS STAY AWAY

But there is one group of organizations that have not yet decided to join hands in this common venture. These are the Catholic organizations. In fact, some of their leaders have attacked the congress and called upon all Catholic groups to boycott it. Is it because Catholic youth are not menaced by war? Certainly this is not true. A Gordian like knot ties their fate with that of all other youth. Nor is it because Catholic youth want war. They abhor war with the rest of us. They desire peace. They hate fascism and oppression of every kind.

Why then this opposition on the part of some of their leaders?

The Administrative Board of the National Catholic Welfare Conference in a public statement condemned the congress as irreligious and radical-dominated. But neither of these charges were substantiated by any facts. Miss Betty Shields-Collins has already answered them by pointing to the obvious facts that the largest single bloc of delegates to the congress will come from religious organizations and that the representatives of the radical groups will make up only a tiny fraction of the entire congress.

ORGANIZATIONS REPRESENTED

Ridiculous therefore is the attack on religious grounds, especially when one recalls to memory some of the American organizations that are represented.

American Jewish Congress, Christian Youth Conference of North America, Epworth League, Girls' Friendly society, Junior Hadassah, National Council of Methodist Youth, Congregational Pilgrim Fellowship, United Christian Missionary-Disciples of Christ, World Alliance of Friendship through the Churches, YMCA, National Council of Student Christian Associations, Young Peoples League of the United Synagogues, YMCA, Sigma Eta Chi-Congregationalist Sorority, Christian Endeavor, Baptist Publications Society, American Friends Service Committee, Reformed and Evangelical Church and Foreign Missions Conference of North America, are the most outstanding of the religious groups supporting and participating in the congress.

Do the leaders of the National Catholic Welfare Conference wish to infer that these are not religious organizations? Do they wish to imply that merely because Catholic religious groups have not seen fit to enter the congress it therefore becomes irreligious? We feel certain that these leaders will be the first to admit that the Catholic Church has no monopoly on the religious field. Hence they should realize that a blatant charge of this kind can only result in harm to the Catholic community itself. It can easily be misunderstood as an attack directed against the Protestant and Jewish faiths.

NO RADICAL DOMINATION

Nor does the charge about Communist and radical domination stand up any better under critical examination. The only "proof" offered for this assertion is that the *Young Communist League* and a few other left groups are supporting the congress and have elected delegates to it. But does this make the congress Communist? Will the single delegate of the *Young Communist League* of the United States outweigh all the other forty-nine of the American delegation? Or do these Catholic leaders believe that all the other organizations representing the

Will the Single Young Communist Delegate at the 2nd World Youth Congress Overbalance 49 Others?

vast majority of organized American youth are likewise Communist? They do not. Why then do they in their statement speak of the American Jewish Congress and other non-radical groups as "Communist"?

Once again let us declare that such charges do more harm to the Catholic community than to anyone else. They influence people into believing what is obviously untrue—namely, that Catholics stand opposed to all other groups; that Catholics resort to libel and name-calling and are opposed to every progressive measure or organization. Catholic leaders as all others should be careful of the kind of charges they fling around, since irresponsible ones can only impair and damage the relationships between Catholics and non-Catholics.

FATHER MOONEY'S STAND

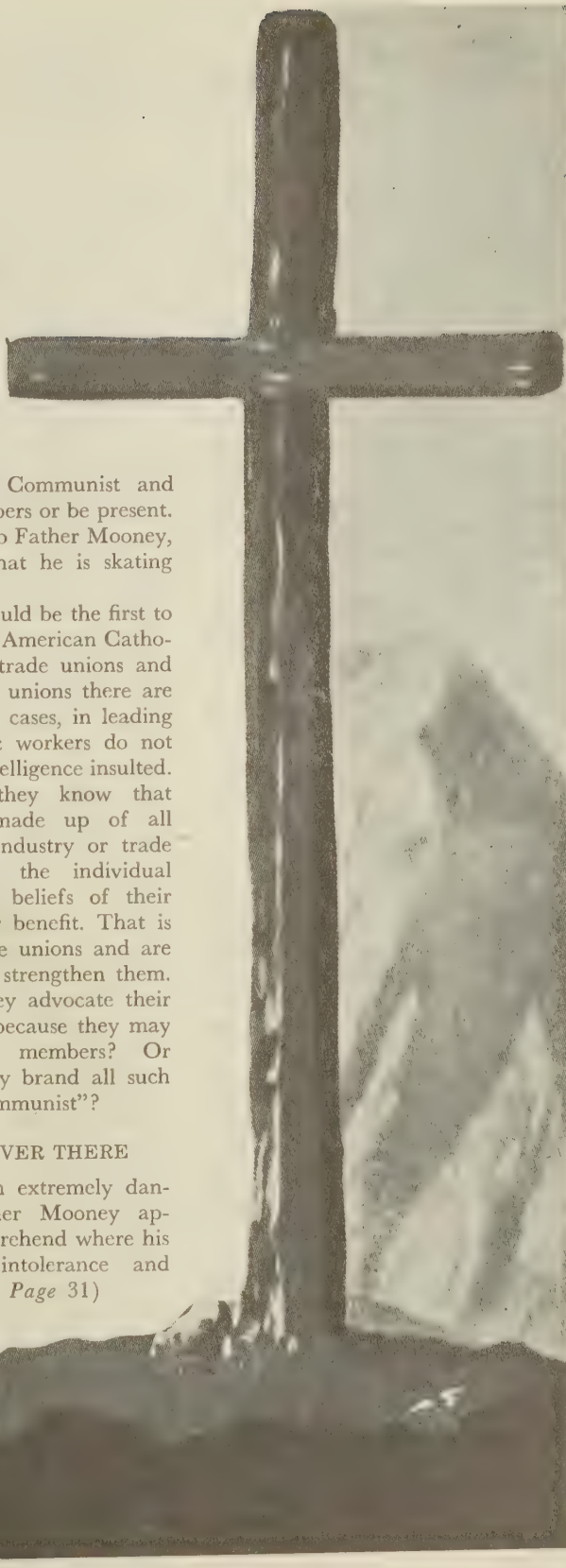
Father Mooney, Director of the Catholic Youth Bureau, in a letter addressed to the Arrangements Committee of the World Youth Congress calls for a policy of exclusion directed against the Communists, Socialists, American Student Union and "organizations of their like." Father Mooney further declares that the Arrangements Committee has insulted the intelligence of Catholics by thinking they would participate in any organization or

gathering to which Communist and radicals may be members or be present. With all due respect to Father Mooney, let us inform him that he is skating on pretty thin ice.

Father Mooney should be the first to know that millions of American Catholics are members of trade unions and that in many of these unions there are Communists, in some cases, in leading posts. These Catholic workers do not seem to think their intelligence insulted. On the contrary, they know that progressive unions made up of all workers in a given industry or trade and irrespective of the individual political or religious beliefs of their members are to their benefit. That is why they joined these unions and are helping to build and strengthen them. Would Father Mooney advocate their leaving these unions because they may contain Communist members? Or would Father Mooney brand all such unions as being "Communist"?

IT HAPPENED OVER THERE

This is treading on extremely dangerous ground. Father Mooney apparently fails to comprehend where his policy of narrow intolerance and
(Continued on Page 31)



If the Democracies Unite...

WHAT is the secret of the ability of the fascist axis to wrest concessions from the democratic powers despite the latter's superiority in men, in arms, and in basic raw materials?

In presenting this question, I have assumed two things which possibly need to be proved beyond the shadow of a doubt before attempting an answer.

Has the fascist axis actually forced the democratic powers to hand over important strategic positions? Are these concessions altogether unnecessary because the democratic powers, combined, hold the upper hand over the fascist powers, combined?

Few people would quarrel with my first assumption. The fascist powers have made important gains within the last few years at the expense of the democratic powers and to the peril of world peace. To deny this is to live in a fool's paradise.

GERMANY MILITANT

The Hitler Reich is very unlike the Germany which suffered so cruelly at Versailles. Germany is no longer a conquered and humbled nation; Germany today threatens to conquer and to humble others. Conscription was re-introduced five years ago; since then, every man, woman and child has become a servant of the war machine. Lieutenant Colonel Walter Jost, press chief of the German War Ministry, expressed this view as follows: "A man unfit for military duty is a burden to the army and to the state." Thus military duty is the sole test of man's right to life. The German rivers have been repatriated; indeed, Nazi military strategists are beginning to look upon the Danube as their own. Danzig, though still under nominal League control, is practically a Nazi city. The Rhineland, demilitarized by Versailles, is today a huge fortress. Only the other day, German civil and military authorities expropriated 2,500 acres of land, owned by French citizens, in order to fortify the frontier near Strasbourg for the day Hitler decides to move against Czechoslovakia.

By THEODORE DRAPER

On March 11, Hitler opened the second stage in the Nazi drive for world power. On that day occurred Anschluss, the forcible annexation of Austria into the Third Reich. Now Austria has never been a part of Germany. Anschluss had nothing to do with Versailles. But Anschluss was all-important for Hitler's drive to the east, for the annexation or domination of every nation from the Baltic to the Aegean. Anschluss made Germany an immediate neighbor of Hungary and Yugoslavia. Anschluss made possible German control of the Danube.

No week passes without the rumor of a German invasion of Czechoslovakia. Now, Czechoslovakia has never been one of Germany's "bleeding frontiers." True, there are more than 3,000,000 German in Czechoslovakia. But they have been there for ten centuries, always part of the same political unit as their neighboring Czechs. And Czechoslovakia was a nation long before that could be said of Germany, until 1848 a "geographical expression."

ROME REBORN

If this is true of Germany, it is even more forcefully true of Italy.

Italy's position in Ethiopia can be compared to a suspended sword over the life-line of the British. Italy's claim of domination in the Mediterranean, enforced by the destruction of British ships off the coast of Spain, is intended as a body-blow at both Britain and France. Above all, the Italo-German invasion of Spain is a heart-stab at France. The outcome of the war in Spain will determine France's position in the European balance of power. That is why a fascist victory in Spain is of world significance for the fascist axis.

JAPAN STRIKES FOR ASIA

In the Pacific, the Japanese bid for monopoly power in China is of the utmost concern to the United States. American business interests were elimi-

The Longer the Democratic Powers Delay Unity, More Difficult Does It Become, and the Graver the Risks

nated from Manchuria when Japan marched in after 1931. All of the China trade is now at stake. The *China Weekly Review* of May 28, 1938 estimates that slightly less than one-half of all American investments in China were wiped out in the first year of the war.

The chief issue at stake is not the relative commercial importance of Japan or the United States in China. There is no reason, as things stand today, why the United States should not have equal right with Japan to trade with China—an equal right which this war is designed to erase. The important thing is that domination over China is but a step in Japan's drive for domination over the entire East just as domination over Austria and Czechoslovakia is but a step in Germany's domination over the entire West.

Now, what is the relative strength of the fascist powers and the democratic powers? Do the democratic powers need to knuckle under as they—with the notable exception of the Soviet Union among the great powers, and Mexico and Czechoslovakia among the smaller ones—have been doing?

DEMOCRATIC STRENGTH

Only reference to the facts can settle this question. Fortunately, one of the most eminent political writers in Europe has gathered valuable information on this point. *Blackmail or War* by Madame Genevieve Tabouis, diplomatic commentator of the French daily, *l'Oeuvre*, was recently published in an English translation in Britain (it has not yet appeared in the United States). From this work, I take the following facts:

The democratic powers possess regular military forces amounting to

2,916,850 men, and the total number of men which could be mobilized is 75,000,000, excluding the forces of Republican Spain and China which would raise both totals to many, many more.

In the fascist countries (in which, for good measure, Madame Tabouis includes Yugoslavia, Rumania and Poland), on the other hand, the regular armies amount to 2,364,900 men and a total of 48,350,000, excluding Austria, Hungary and Greece.

The democratic powers have a total naval tonnage of 4,221,410 as compared with only 1,406,776 in the fascist countries.

The latest approximate statistics for aviation (January 1, 1938) show that the democratic countries have 11,385 aircraft while the fascist powers have only 7,800.

In the democratic powers, Mme. Tabouis includes Great Britain, France, United States, the Soviet Union, and Czechoslovakia. In the fascist countries she places Germany, Italy, Japan, Yugoslavia, Rumania and Poland.

What of industrial capacity and raw materials?

In this latter respect, the advantage of the democratic bloc is even greater. In any future war, this factor will be decisive for modern arms have to be replaced quickly and frequently and this can be accomplished only by an efficient rear-guard industry.

FASCISTS WEAK

The recent crashes on the Berlin and Tokyo stock exchanges have served to call to the attention of the most skeptical the enormous internal weakness of the fascist powers. And it must be remembered that Italy, weakened by the invasion of Ethiopia and the present war in Spain, is even less able to carry on a general war than either of its partners.

Mme. Tabouis, whose sources of information are phenomenal, cites a recent memorandum of the Rhineland and Westphalian industrialists of the greatest interest on Germany's economic condition:

"(1) Shortage of raw materials, representing 40 to 60 per cent of the actual requirements. This shortage bids fair to become worse owing to the fact that the stocks are almost exhausted. The possibilities of dumping on foreign

markets have reached their limits, and it will therefore be necessary to have recourse to the intensive output of substitute products, as contemplated in the Four Year's Plan.

"(2) Lack of foodstuffs for human and animal consumption. Under these two headings the shortage varies from 25 to 30 per cent. Attempts are being made to cope with the effects of the unfavorable harvest of 1936 by food rationing and by measures for stabilizing prices and conditions of sale.

"(3) Shortage of orders which makes it impossible to absorb available workers. This is due to the decline in the export trade, indicated by a drop from 12,000,000,000 marks to 4,000,000,000."

This is the background of the stock crash in Berlin, which showed that the situation had become infinitely worse than that described, quite cautiously, by the German industrialists themselves. Japan is even in a worse condition since she is now forced to draw on her last line of gold reserves to obtain desperately needed raw materials. This caused the stock market break in Tokyo.

Indeed, the aggressive plans of the fascist axis are all intended to remedy this state of affairs. Germany wants Czechoslovakia for the latter's splendid heavy industry, including the famous Skoda armament works, and farm produce. Rumania is marked for slaughter for her oil. Japan seeks in China what she needs for successful conflict with the United States and the Soviet Union, notably raw cotton, iron ore, and food. Italy expects to get in Spain by conquest what she cannot afford to buy on the world market.

In other words, if the present aggressive plans of the fascist powers are successful, this favorable relation of the democratic powers will be reduced or actually reversed. Since the main spring of fascist action is preparation for war, present or planned, such a change in the relative positions of the powers is of critical importance to every friend of peace.

The people of Germany, Italy and Japan need to live far better than they do, need to live well. But so long as they live under the rule of fascism, their condition cannot be bettered by aggressions, no matter how successful. For the raw materials which are seized by conquest go to make cannon, not

butter. And cannon go to make more war, not better living conditions. That is why the friends of peace look with abhorrence upon any "peace plan" intended to make the fascist powers stronger. Stronger for what? he asks. Stronger for more war, the fascists themselves answer.

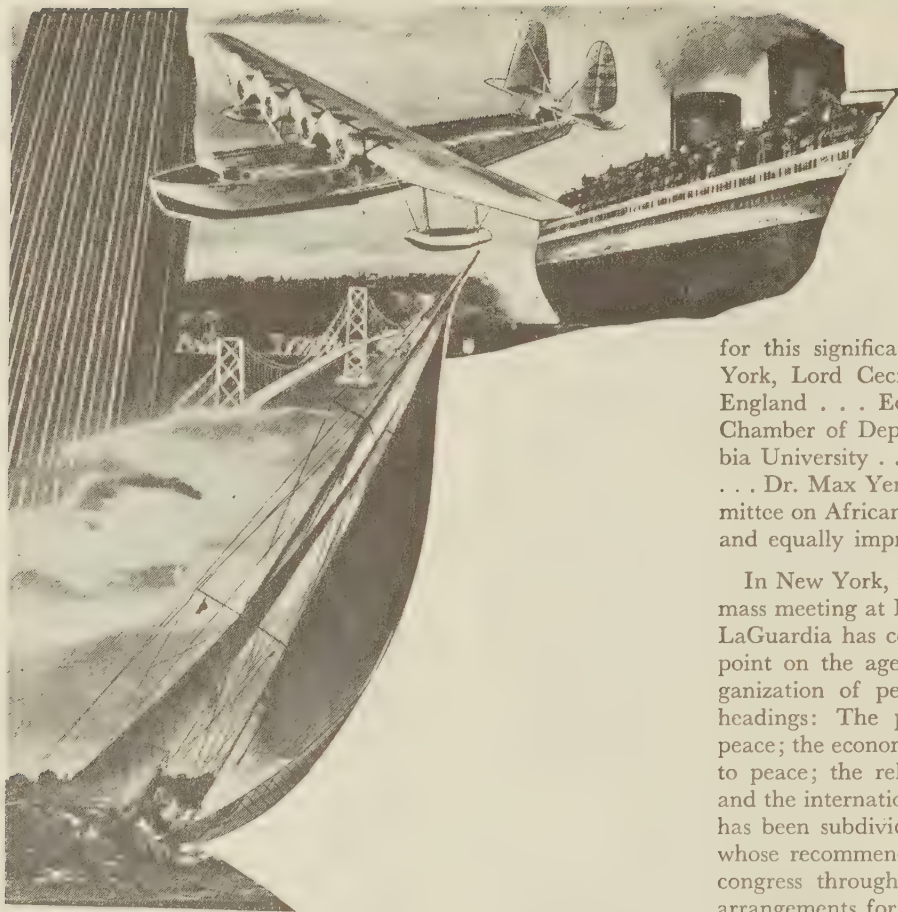
The democratic powers are fully strong enough to put an end to the wars and the war-threats of the fascist axis. This was proven on May 21 when Hitler was forced to change his mind about invading Czechoslovakia owing to the point pressure of France, Britain and the Soviet Union and the evident determination of the Czechs themselves to resist aggression. Hitler Germany has never won a single victory unless its victim was prepared to surrender without a struggle or the other powers, specifically the governments of France, Britain and the United States, were prepared to sacrifice that victim.

UNITY AGAINST AGGRESSION

There is one condition for the preservation of world peace by making the potential aggressor think better about his intended aggression. That condition is unity. Unity by the democratic powers can keep Hitler out of Czechoslovakia. Is that not necessary to keep Europe at peace? Unity by the democratic powers can drive Italy and Germany out of Spain? Is that not necessary for world peace? Unity by the democratic powers can force Japan to withdraw from China? Would that not be a victory for our own peace and security?

The fascist axis is not strong due to its own forces; its strength lies in the weakness of the democracies. And the weakness of the democracies lies in their inability to combine forces to preserve peace anywhere in order that it be preserved everywhere. This weakness has its roots in the pro-fascist forces within the democracies themselves. All of these "fifth columns" are grouped around the Chamberlain government of England which gives them their program and their leadership.

The democracies can unite, first because it is the profound yearning of their peoples, secondly because it is in their own interest. But the longer they wait, the harder it becomes and the graver the risks.



YOUTH

for this significant undertaking are: The Archbishop of York, Lord Cecil . . . Nobel Peace Prize winner from England . . . Edouard Herriot, president of the French Chamber of Deputies . . . Dr. James Shotwell of Columbia University . . . Rabindranath Tagore, the Hindu poet . . . Dr. Max Yergan, Secretary of the International Committee on African Affairs . . . and of course, there is a large and equally impressive roster of American sponsors. . . .

In New York, the delegates are being received at a huge mass meeting at Randall's Island Stadium at which Mayor LaGuardia has consented to speak. . . . There is only one point on the agenda of the Congress and that is the organization of peace. . . . This is arranged under four headings: The political and economic organization for peace; the economic and cultural status of youth in relation to peace; the religious and philosophical basis of peace; and the international role of youth . . . all of this discussion has been subdivided into groups and special commissions, whose recommendations will be brought before the entire congress through a program committee. . . . The time arrangements for the Congress indicate the strenuous tasks the delegates will have . . . because breakfast is served at 8 A. M. and the evening sessions are scheduled to close at 10 P. M. . . . There will be inter-faith services and special invocations at the Congress.

The pageant that is being prepared at the Randall's Island reception meeting is entitled: Unity of Youth . . . will contain folk dances, mass gymnastic displays . . . mass singing by Negro choirs . . . and is being supervised by the New York Federal Theatre Project . . . WPA.

The New York City Council passed a resolution welcoming the World Youth Congress but was met by the opposition of the Catholic Church, which is not, in America, supporting the Youth Congress. . . . When the Tammany councilmen attempted to rescind the resolution of greetings, the matter was referred back to a subcommittee . . . but the joker is that the subcommittee won't meet until September, that is, after the Congress. . . .

Important trade unions are supporting the Congress, nationally and internationally . . . Leon Jouhaux, head of the French trade union movement is co-operating and so is Vincente Lombardo Toledano, the chief of the Mexican trade unions . . . on the American sponsoring committee are included A. Philip Randolph of the Sleeping Car Porters . . . James Carey of the United Radio and Electrical Workers . . . John L. Lewis . . . and Francis Gorman, of the United Textile Workers. . . .

MOST people want to know what the World Youth Congress is. According to a recent statement we learn the first World Youth Congress was called by the International Federation of the League of Nations Societies, and was held at Geneva, Switzerland at the beginning of September, 1936. Seven hundred and fifty delegates from 36 countries attended where it was "made clear that the main task of the movement should be to co-ordinate existing youth forces peace forces, and to ensure that the broad character of the Congress is perpetuated by close collaboration between youth of all shades of religious, social, and political opinion."

One of the four major aims of the World Youth Congress" is to reach an agreement wherever possible as to a common policy for the prevention of war and for the establishment of peace and to undertake united action for the attaining of this purpose . . . "

Every now and so often, the World Youth Congress calls regional meeting and one of these was held last February: a central European youth conference for Cultural and Economic Rapprochement attended by 120 delegates from diverse youth organizations of the Austria, Poland, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Yugoslavia. . . .

But the big thing is the Second World Youth Congress which opens at Vassar College, New York Poughkeepsie, New York on the 16th of August. . . . Some of the sponsors

COMES TO AMERICA

Facts, Figures, and Personalities About the Second World Youth Congress Gathered from Its Press Releases

According to the Organizing Committee, the largest bloc of delegates will be from religious organizations despite the charge of the Catholics that the Congress is 'irreligious' . . . Buddhist, Christian, Jewish, Confucian, Hindu, and Mohammedan youth will be there . . . and at least eight or so denominations of the Christian youth movement. . . .

This is the first international youth congress that the delegates from the Soviet Union are attending. . . .

An all-Latin American congress for peace, liberty, and culture will be held simultaneously with the World Youth Congress, thereby enabling the South and Latin American delegates to kill fascism several times over at one time. . . . A student delegation from the World Student Association has been visiting all the Far and Near East countries . . . among the three students in this delegation is Miss Molly Yard, organizational secretary of the ASU, who will return to America in time for August 16th.

A telegram from the Germany declares: "in agreement with the German Youth Leadership I have to inform you that German youth will not take part in the 1938 youth congress in the United States . . ." signed by one of Hitler's youth stooges. . . . There will be a special reception for the leaders of the delegation in one of the Washington, D. C. gay spots . . . an embassy, it is rumoured . . .

When Betty Shields-Collins got off the train at Poughkeepsie on her way to Hyde Park, Mrs. Roosevelt herself was at the station. She drove Miss Shields-Collins to Hyde Park herself. The comment of the English girl was: "I can't imagine Mrs. Chamberlain doing that."

25 delegates from Chile are already on their way to this country with the blessings of the Chilean Chamber of Deputies and Senate . . . Hallie Flanagan has invited all the delegates to a performance of the Federal Theatre's " . . . one Third of a Nation." . . . The Women's Christian Temperance Union has taken an ad in the souvenir journal that the World Youth Congress is putting out. The New York division of the Federal Arts Project will take the delegates on a tour of the project. . . .

Blocs of tickets for the Randall's Island meeting have been taken by the Polish, Czech, Spanish, Chinese, Rus-

sian and French groups in this country—also by the N.M.U., the Retail Clerks, the Fur Floor Boys Union, the United Office and Professional Workers, the Social Service Workers, State and County and Municipal Workers Union, the Cafeteria Workers and the Furniture Workers Union. . . . There will be at least 8 broadcasts on the World Youth Congress before it opens winding up with an NBC broadcast on August 15th. . . .

Elsie Monjar, chairman of the California Model Youth Legislature is helping to organize the Poughkeepsie Committee for the World Youth Congress. . . . The Poles are arriving in Jersey on August 8th and will have a police escort to the Holland Tunnel (courtesy of Jersey City) and a police escort in New York from the Holland Tunnel (courtesy of Commissioner Valentine). . . .

American newspapers characterize Betty Shields-Collins, international secretary of the World Youth Congress as "petite and pretty," "a slip of an English girl," "a soft-voiced, quiet mannered English girl," "a bonnie lass" and "blond and beautiful."

Signers of America's Book of International Fellowship welcoming the delegates already include Mayor LaGuardia, Borough President Ingersoll, Nobel Prize Winner Urey of Columbia, President Henry S. Coffin of Union Theological Seminary, Reinhold Niebuhr, Michael Quill, Heywood Broun and practically every Y.W.C.A. from coast to coast.

The fare of one Indian delegate is equivalent to the wages of one Indian peasant for two years. . . . The Chinese have cabled that they will have "leastwise ten delegates at Congress."

The American Student Union has adopted the slogan "Don't be a lagger—be a shagger" in an effort to round up 300 performers for the Randall's Island pageant in honor of the delegates. . . . Both Arabs and Jews are coming from Palestine. . . .

One of the Chinese delegates will be the Girl Scout who carried the Chinese flag across the lines to a "dare-to-die" battalion whose flag had been shot down.

The Youth's Temperance Council of the Women's Christian Temperance Union trusts that "the high ideals of the Youth Congress may not be lowered to meet the demands of the commercial liquor interest looking for new victims." . . . Betty Shields-Collins, after interviews with Secretary Hull, Secretary Wallace and Secretary Ickes remarked that the cabinet members showed an "astonishing interest in efforts of the youth movements to cooperate internationally toward the achievement of world peace . . . in no other country has there been such understanding of what can be the contribution of youth itself."

AMONG the young people of all lands who will enter the portals of the beautiful Vassar College grounds on the opening day of the World Youth Congress will be fifty delegates and fifty official observers from the United States. These one hundred young men



and women will represent the views and opinions of a cross section of young America. Their job is to present to the World Youth Congress a program which they feel will restore and maintain peace in the world. They must not fail

in giving the leadership that is rightfully expected of them.

Yet it will be a difficult task for this delegation to present a unified, clear-cut positive program. This difficulty arises out of the fact that various conflicting trends among the youth organizations will also be expressed in the U. S. delegation.

Of course there is no doubt that a program of world cooperation for peace will be strongly urged. The findings of the Milwaukee Congress of the A. Y. C. and of its recent Conference in Berea, Ohio, which represent the opinions of a broad section on the youth movement, take an unqualified stand for co-operation of the peoples and governments of the world who desire peace to curb aggression.

Since it is certain that this positive program will be presented and will receive wide support we should concern ourselves mainly with the most outspoken opposition to such a program. Those who most bitterly oppose this stand will attempt to confuse and divide the delegation. Such confusion and division would be harmful both to the interests of young people in this country and to the World Congress.

Discussion on the Attitude of the American Delegates at the 2nd World Youth Congress

Therefore a closer examination of the position of the most articulate opponents of world co-operation for peace is in order.

The most bitter attacks and vehement denunciation of every constructive suggestion directed towards uniting all peace forces to stop the aggressors comes from the leading spokesmen of the so-called Youth Committee Against War. Until the Oxford pledge was proven bankrupt and it appeared more profitable to tie up with the Keep America Out of War Congress, this group was known as the Committee for the Oxford Pledge, but both its program and leadership have remained the same.

The only difference to be observed in the "new" set-up is that now the Youth Committee Against War makes the pretence of speaking for *all* those who are opposed to or do not yet fully understand and accept a policy of world co-operation for peace. Undoubtedly it will also attempt to play this false role at the World Youth Congress, for its leadership hopefully dreams of taking leadership over every group not fully committed advocating concerted action for peace. Pleasant dreams for sure!

* * *

DOES the Youth Committee Against War really represent the pacifist young people, those for instance who have been supporting the Emergency Peace Campaign?

Does it represent the youth either in the trade unions or the opinion of Christian youth whose ideal is a warless world?

When and where has the Youth Committee Against War ever published a list of organizations affiliated to it giving the size and extent of their mem-

bership?

What single national organization of any importance has ever endorsed its program or pledged support to it?

How many young people does the Youth Committee actually reach and claim to represent?

To ask these questions is to answer them. The Youth Committee Against War is a committee without affiliates, a paper organization without membership. It does not represent and cannot to speak for the masses of young people interested in maintaining peace.

The policies of the Youth Committee are formulated and its leadership dominated by the Young People's Socialist League and its Lovestoneite friends who control the movement lock, stock, and barrel. From its inception it has been an instrument for bringing forward their policies. Except for a few sops thrown to pacifists or others who have been roped in, the executive posts and committee memberships are in the hands of the same small clique that controlled the conference at which it was organized last May.

What can there be in common between the young Socialists and Lovestoneites who lead this committee and some of its present adherents who are honest advocates of peace because of their Christian or pacifist convictions? Nothing. There is no basis for a joint movement. The best proof that there is no basis for the kind of artificial alliance, that has been created largely on paper, is in the fact that the young Socialists have foisted on the Christian youth and pacifists a point of view not consistent with pacifist principles. This could only be done because of the monopoly of leadership the Y. P. S. L. maintains.

The Y. P. S. L. has declared time and again that the peace movement need not concern itself with trying to influence governments, but need only organize "independent action." It rejects the conception that the governments of such democracies as the United States, France, and England can be influenced to become a force for peace.

Is this the position of the pacifist and Christian young people in America? Most assuredly not! They place their faith in the tremendous influence the people can have in shaping the course of foreign policy of their government. They believe that the road to peace lies in what they consider to be a correct foreign policy for the country. That is why the peace commission of the Christian Youth Council of North America in its June meeting declared that "the alternatives today are world order or world anarchy. As Christians we must act—for international co-operation. We must build toward—universal respect for international law and justice." This is hardly a statement for a rounded out position of concerted action for peace, but in speaking of "international law" and "international co-operation," it rejects the position of the Y. P. S. L. which condemns any and all references to the need for maintaining "international law." Since it took that position it was only natural for the Christian Youth Council to refuse endorsement of the Youth Committee Against War.

Advocates of concerted action for peace may differ with the Christian youth as to what the foreign policy of our government should be, but they hold one thing in common: the view that *it is responsibility of the people to influence their governments to work for peace*. Clearly the young Socialists and Lovestoneites who dominate the councils of the Youth Committee Against War do not speak the same language as those they claim among their constituents.

* * *

OR let's look at the other side of the picture. Precisely what business do people who dub themselves "Socialists" and "Marxists" have in adopting the program of the Youth Committee Against War?

The Y. P. S. L. has often protested that it desires to work for aid to the people of Spain and China who valiantly fight for independence of their countries against bloody fascism. It has given lip service to the campaign to lift the embargo on the Spanish Republic, to the boycott of Japanese goods. But in the program of the Youth Committee Against War neither Spain nor China is even mentioned and *there is not one word about lifting the embargo on Spain, of organizing the boycott of Japan, or of giving material aid to the victims of aggression in these countries*.

If this were some sort of an "oversight" one would at least expect a word of criticism from the Y. P. S. L. of the program of this movement, but it has nothing but praise for it. The *Socialist Call* in an editorial writes, "the Keep America Out of War Congress has laid down an admirable program." An admirable program indeed!

An honest Socialist must surely ask, "What is a 'Socialist' organization doing in the same movement with Hamilton Fish and Frederick Libby?" What other conclusion can we come to than that the Y.P.S.L. has sold down the river its pledges of aid to Spain and China as the price of an unprincipled alliance with the Fishes and the Libbys.

* * *

OBVIOUSLY the platform of the Youth Committee Against War could not be presented either by non-

Socialists or Socialists to the World Youth Congress as a unifying program for a world movement.

It would undoubtedly be rejected completely for it could only serve the interests of tory Chamberlain who is interested in absolving the fascists from all blame and in "appeasing" them. The principle fault of the program lies in its last point which is the fundamental premise on which the whole program is erected. They speak of "realizing the culpability of all nations" in making war.

Can we accept this proposition that all nations are equally guilty of aggression, of driving toward war?

Suppose you place this question before the delegates to the World Youth Congress from Czechoslovakia. Are they to believe that peaceful democratic Czechoslovakia is equally as guilty as bloody Hitler Germany? Or are we to suggest that we hold France and Italy equally responsible for murderous assault on Spain? And perhaps we should even try to convince the Chinese delegation that their nation must share the blame with the Japanese war lords for the war in the Far East?

The answer is again obvious. But instead of directing their attack against the principle war-makers the fascist powers and their accomplices such as Chamberlain who try to knife democracy in the back, the Youth Committee Against War directs every blow against the Roosevelt administration and particularly against the most positive features of its declarations for a "good neighbor" policy and for "quarantining" the aggressors.

If the delegates to the World Youth Congress and the young people of the U. S. whom they represent will carefully weigh these facts they will certainly reject the policy of the Youth Committee Against War. For if adopted it would make American youth ridiculous in the eyes of the delegations from other lands who come to Vassar seeking a consistent practical program of struggle for peace. And on the other hand by presenting a clear-cut and positive program the American delegation would gain the respect and admiration of the world's youth and win a place of honor for itself in the hearts of all peaceloving humanity.



In CLARIFICATION of a POLICY

By JOSEPH STAROBIN

SOMETIMES a slogan becomes so familiar that people forget what it means. People fail to dig beneath the surface of ideas with which they are in complete agreement. Or else, aroused as they are, in the daily struggle for the fulfillment of a particular phase of a general political campaign they lose sight of the larger outlines of policy.

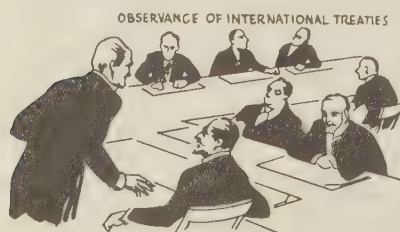
On the other hand, many people are afraid of labels. Give them a phrase that expresses a whole political policy, and, although they may agree with the policy . . . they shie away from the phrase. Propaganda is so powerful in the modern world, the propaganda of reactionaries, in particular, that people frequently refuse to recognize a policy with which they have long been in agreement.

The story is told of the Russian peasant in the middle of the year 1917 who had been adversely affected by the terrific propaganda of the Russian reactionaries that he often declared... "We want peace, we want bread, we want land... but those Bolsheviks, they ought to be wiped out..."

But, happily, it did not take the Russian peasants many months to realize that it was the *Bolsheviks* who raised the slogans of Bread, Peace, and Land... who made these slogans the essence of their success in halting the imperialist war.

I have in mind the term "collective security," sometimes called "concerted action for peace". I propose very briefly to restate its meaning.

You can begin anywhere in the international situation today and one



fact emerges. That is that the responsibility for the murderous wars which are cutting down the prime of the Spanish and Chinese youth lies at the bloody threshold of the three fascist powers: Germany, Italy and Japan.

Germany, for instance, is directly responsible for tearing up the treaties of peace, invading and destroying Austrian independence, throwing Spain into the horror of a civil war, instigating espionage and reaction in South, Latin... and yes, North America... and today threatens the national independence of half a dozen states in Europe, the Czech republic, in particular.

Italy actively assists Germany in this policy, bearing the brunt of the invasion of Spain. And Japan is trying to dismember China, and overrun all Asia.

To state this fact in this form does not deny that capitalism everywhere tends, breeds, fosters and inevitably creates the conditions for warfare. Nor does it mean that the Allies were justified in forcing a burdensome peace on the German Republic.

But it does mean this: that the clue to a policy which wants to stop war *now*, and prevent war in the future lies in the economic, political, military, and diplomatic defeat of the fascist policies. The peoples of the world (for the problem is world-wide) must find a technique and a program of action that will make the advance of the fascists difficult, and as quickly as possible, halt fascism altogether.

Some people will interject at this point: "Why be so rude... why not sit down at the table with Hitler, Mussolini, and the Mikado... pass out the cigars, and talk the matter over... maybe you can come to terms."

A Restatement of the Meaning of 'Collective Security' in the Light of Some Recent Developments

That is exactly the kind of diplomacy Hitler and his cronies are looking for. It is just this streak of British "politeness" that the fascists admire in Chamberlain, the head of the British government. The fascists are looking for exactly such "Christian" sentiments in the diplomatic corridors of five continents.

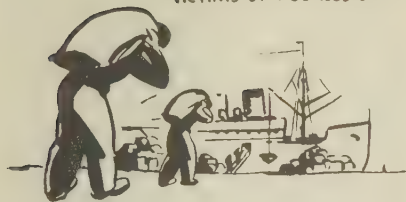
Why? because the fascists would like to get as much as they can without



fighting... by a policy of bluff, slander, bullying, and grimacing. Because they know that they are weak in raw materials; weak in oil, cotton, iron, copper, nitrates... all the essentials of modern warfare. And above all, they are weak in the morale of their bayonet-controlled population.

This gives us the clue to the kind of action that will halt the fascists. The democratic countries, whether capitalist democracies or not, have within their power... to throttle fascism without difficulty, by withholding the raw materials that the fascists now are procuring to carry on their bloody designs. That is why one of the key slogans of a policy of concerted action for peace is that the American embargo on arms to Spain be lifted, and that the embargo be placed on the fascists nations. Because it is clear that to cut the fascists off from their war-supplies means to make their war-advance impossible. That is why we call for "boycott of Japan," because our

OPEN MARKETS TO VICTIMS OF AGGRESSION

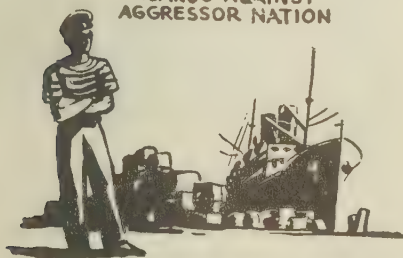


humanitarian sympathies with the Chinese people can be most effective if Japan loses her American markets.

But the truth of the matter is that it is possible to halt the fascists by other measures. The experience of the Czech republic on May 21st is illuminating. The concerted diplomatic action of the Soviet Union and France, along with the mobilization of Czech reserves, was sufficient to avert the impending German and Polish invasion.

"But," some one will interrupt our reasoning once more... "sure, the fascists are bullies, but man, they're

EMBARGO AGAINST AGGRESSOR NATION



dangerous. If you make things unpleasant for them, they are likely to explode the world in a new world war...."

This is the argument of people who feel that to do anything about fascism is to provoke a new world war. And no one wants war . . . therefore. . .

Yes, no one wants war, but this is not an academic matter. Isolation is not a way of keeping out of war. Isolation is a form of invitation to the warmakers; it declares in advance that it will do nothing to stop them. To do nothing about the situation is to admit in advance that war is inevitable.

But we say it isn't. Not if the people of the democratic world get together to take concrete measures such as lifting the embargo, and boycotting Japan, and impressing these measures

upon their governments so that their governments will also take measures against fascism.

Are we advocating, therefore, a "peoples war against fascism." Hardly. Because war against fascism is not necessary providing that certain economic and political and diplomatic measures against the fascists are taken immediately. You don't have to fight them. Just withdraw the means where-by they are now fighting you.

"But... but... but, won't they fight back?"

How? Is it not completely unreal to suppose that Japan which is having such a difficult time fighting a poorly armed China will hesitate (as she did the other day in the case of Russia) will hesitate to fight the powerfully armed democracies? Is it not romantic to think that Hitler will attack France, when she is having such a difficult time in Spain, and in Austria. The fascists will not fight the democracies, because they are now *using* the disunity of the great democracies in order to swallow the small nations. Certainly, if you let them continue their blackmail and aggression unhampered, they will someday gain sufficient strength to attack the great democracies. And who will stop them then?

To halt fascism now by peaceful but concerted economic measures is to spare ourselves much trouble later, when nothing but military measures will help. To help the Spanish and Chinese peoples now, means to help those peoples who unfortunately are already involved in actual war... but "will do the job for us."

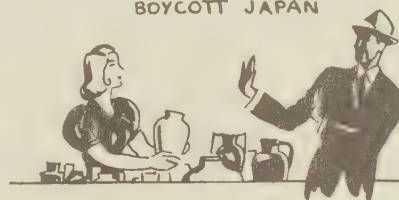
"But," says the doubting Thomas whom we thought had been quieted," can we rely on our own government,

which is, by definition capitalistic...?"

Well, when we get to that argument, our discussion is practically over. Because that is the weakest of the isolationist arguments, a real favorite among Trotskyites, Lovestoneites, Socialists, and such-like.

Let's not rely on our governments... let's influence the government policy so that it corresponds with the policy of the people. Let us arouse a mass movement in this country and throughout the world... let us have parades, mass meetings, demonstrations, open actions of the people, the workers, the sailors, the students... against the policy of condoning fascism, and let us persuade our government that if it is to continue to keep the faith of its people, it must

BOYCOTT JAPAN



act to unite with the other democracies against fascism. Let the President really carry out his policy of "quarantining the aggressor."

Because only an aroused mass movement of the people in their organizations, and in pressure upon their government can halt the fascist advance... the very same movement which is the guarantee that fascism will never flower in American soil.

There are millions of youth who desire peace. Millions whose religious training and convictions motivate them to abhor aggression and violence. Millions who look forward to a world in which peace can flourish and men live in brotherhood. But these aspirations maybe shattered on the barbed wire fences of fascism, these aspirations may be "our last words" unless they are fortified today by concerted and practical action to bring victory in Spain and China, and thereby the assurance of peace to America.

AID TO SPAIN



Decorations by courtesy of
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The Soviet Stand for Peace

WE ARE accustomed to distinguishing between times of war and times of peace without taking into account the fact that under capitalist regimes it is impossible to have a solid and durable peace. What we are accustomed to consider as peace could more justly be considered as more or less an interval between two wars, in other words, an armistice. I once declared in a speech at the League of Nations that each war engendered a new war, and that each treaty between the capitalist states contained within itself the embryo of a new war.

It is now perfectly correct to say that the World War of 1914-1918 did not end with the treaties of Versailles, Saint-Germain and the others, but the twenty years that have elapsed since 1918 can only be considered as an armistice. It can also be said that the echoes of the artillery which are being fired in Spain and China are the echoes of the last World War.

RESULTS OF THE WAR

The diplomacy of the European powers during the last five years has tended to avoid all opposition to the aggressive activities of Germany by executing its demands and even its caprices for fear of provoking, even in the smallest way, discontent and disapproval. There is no doubt that in the near future Germany will have practically established its frontiers as they were before the War.

It is now not only a question of restoring the international system that existed in Europe before the war; it is now a question of taking from the former Allies the strong positions which they previously held and which are, for them, positions of vital importance.

GERMANY AND JAPAN

Simultaneously with the appearance of Germany as rival of the oldest imperialist power in the European arena, on the Asiatic continent a new imperialist rival has appeared in the shape of Japan.

In An Address to the Lenin-grad Voters, the Soviet Minister Discusses World Affairs

By M. LITVINOV

If Germany has set herself the task in the first place of obtaining hegemony in Europe, Japan struggles for the similar hegemony in Asia, directing its aggression in the first place against the Chinese Republic, where it encounters the interests of the other imperialist States. In 1932 it began its offensive against Manchuria, and meeting with no material resistance on the part of the other partners of the Washington Pact, it occupied the whole of Manchuria and began its drive towards the centre and south of China. The military operations now being carried out by Japan in China, the conquest of Peiping, Shanghai, Nanking and the most important railway lines of China, are only a continuation of this operation.

At the present moment we are witnessing the liquidation of one of the achievements of the Western powers at the end of the World War.

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

It is also necessary to examine another product of the World War: the League of Nations. Despite its Covenant, the League of Nations, apart from paper resolutions, has reacted in no way whatever to the Japanese aggression against China and the Japanese occupation of a very large Chinese province, Manchuria. The fact that the first aggression went unpunished has encouraged others. There followed the armed invasion of Abyssinia by Italy without the League of Nations affording any serious help to the victims of aggression. After that German and Italian aggression against Spain; then the continuation of the Japanese offensive against China; and the League remained completely inactive.

All this has completely undermined

the prestige of the League. It has ceased to count. It has ceased to be feared. Some leave the League, others only remain nominal members arbitrarily refusing to fulfil the obligations they have assumed. Of this dreaded force that the League of Nations should have been, there remains only the pale shadow. Thus, the only other achievement of the World War which the victors considered as a particularly great one, is on the way to liquidation.

The facts that I have just enumerated—and note that they are all facts and not hypotheses—are certainly quite sufficient to characterize the international events of the last six years as a period of gradual and systematic liquidation of the international order resulting from the World War and the annulment of the most important post-war treaties.

THE SOVIET UNION

Does that mean to say that the Soviet Union remains quite indifferent to the above events? Certainly not. We do not participate in the struggle between rival imperialist interests; the idea of appropriating somebody else's territory is alien to us.

Nevertheless, there is not only the fact that Germany aspires to regain the rights she lost by the Treaty of Versailles and to regain her pre-war frontiers. There is also the fact that she bases her foreign policy on aggression without limits, that she claims the right to subject all other races and nationalities to the so-called German race. She also conducts a violent anti-Soviet policy which recalls the dark period of the Teutonic Order when it dominated the Baltic countries. She speaks openly of her designs on the Ukraine and even on the Urals. And who knows of what else she dreams?

In its aggression, Japan also does not limit itself to the frontiers of China, but allows itself to dream of the seas and land of the Soviet Union. But we do not wish that Soviet land and sea be the object of anybody's dreams and longings.

It is from this point of view that we are indirectly interested in present

events. But another and more general interest unites us with the other States: that is the maintenance of peace.

The workers of all lands are interested in the maintenance of peace, to the fate of which we cannot be indifferent. It is with their blood, with their lives, with their meagre wages, that the workers and not the ruling classes, pay for the violation of peace, the devastations which are the inevitable result of war. Whether the order established after the World War is better or worse than before, in any case we are against its change by means of a new bloody war.

Further, nothing will guarantee that a new war will result in a better or more equitable order. The consciousness that in the present international condition the maintenance of peace necessitates political efforts and the collaboration of all countries desiring peace brought us to Geneva.

WHY USSR JOINED THE LEAGUE

We went to the League of Nations on the assumption that the Covenant of the League was a particularly solemn and obligatory international treaty and was regarded as such by all the signatory States. We went there to defend peace in the general interest of the people, knowing that all joint work sometimes demands of each one taking part in it the renunciation of particular interests, and certain sacrifices. We went there with the intention of loyally fulfilling the obligations we had undertaken.

In fact, when after our adherence to the League of Nations, the Italian aggression against Abyssinia took place, without considering our mutually advantageous relations with Italy, we advocated that the League of Nations fulfil its duty towards the victims of aggression, and we loyally carried out the decisions taken by the League.

When aggression started against Spain, when Italy and Germany began to attack and persevere in their attacks, when aggression again started in China, we immediately raised our voices in favour of the victims of these aggressions, and participated in whatever measure possible in bringing help to

the victims as recommended by the modest decisions of the League of Nations.

In our efforts to contribute to the maintenance of peace at all costs by international collective collaboration, knowing that without the Soviet Union there cannot be created a balance of powers in Europe, and in the world, before which aggression will disappear, the Soviet Government agreed to participate in regional pacts of mutual assistance. When the Eastern Pact proposition was sabotaged by Germany and Poland, the Soviet Union concluded pacts of mutual assistance with France and Czechoslovakia. Our pacts with

agreement on non-intervention in the affairs of Spain. We have never had any faith in the argument that the absence of such an agreement would mean a threat to peace.

Nevertheless, from the beginning, we did not have an exaggerated faith in the signatures of the fascist countries, who openly mock treaties and their obligations, and it was for this reason that we proposed to the Committee to assure real control by means of the British and French fleets. I believe that the adoption of our proposal would not only have put an end to the war in Spain without provoking any international complication, but would have



THE RUSSIAN GULLIVER KEEPS A WATCHFUL EYE OPEN . . .

France and Czechoslovakia, besides inflicting a grave defeat on this aggressive sion and all aggression in general. Unfortunately the States whose interest is the diminution of the threat of war or to prevent the outbreak of war in certain parts of Europe. German intervention in Spain, have preferred the policy of yielding to these aggressors. They have chosen the path of limitless concessions to the aggressors.

In face of the threat at present suspended over Czechoslovakia, it is plain for the whole world to see that the Soviet-Czech Pact fulfills this function and that it is the greatest, if not the sole factor, in easing the tension regarding Czechoslovakia.

In the interests of international collaboration we have adhered to the preventing, as far as lies in our power,

what is more or less the intervention of the Committee in favor of Franco.

"NOT FOR OURSELVES ALONE"

As you see, the Soviet Government has not remained indifferent to international developments. Not so long ago the U.S.S.R. called the attention of the powers desiring peace to the necessity of taking urgent collective measures to save humanity from the new imminent bloody war. This appeal was not heard, but the Soviet Government, at least, has discharged its responsibilities for the future development of events.

Nevertheless it must be stated that the Soviet Government has demanded nothing for itself. It has not offered itself to anyone as partner or ally. It consented to participate in the collective collaboration only because the situation was particularly dangerous not for itself, but, in the first place, for the small countries, and in second place, for the States responsible for the post-war international order.

DEFENDS SOVIET SOIL

We pursue a policy of peace, free from all provocation, in continuing without cease to strengthen our capacity for defence, developing our successes in all the fields of economic life, uniting more and more all the peoples of the Union, exterminating energetically and in time the "fifth column," that is to say, the spies and saboteurs, agents of hostile States. We would remind these States of the determination with which each portion of Soviet soil will be defended, and by that too we will keep them away from our frontiers.

But if, contrary to all expectations, we are not able to maintain peace in spite of our policy, then we know that the defence of our State will be in the firm and capable hands of our glorious Red Army, our Red Navy and Red Air Force. Around them are gathered the whole Soviet people under the leadership of our great chief, the great leader of the peoples, *Stalin*, with a united unshakeable will to defend our Socialist fatherland, to destroy and conquer the enemy for ever and at any price.

The Czechs Against Hitler

A Review of Recent Events at a Moment when a New Attack on the Czech Republic Looms

By **RICHARD GOODMAN**

BEHIND all this whistling in the dark, behind the deliberately assumed optimism, the tension in Europe is once again increasing and may break at any moment to involve the world in a major conflagration. The only cause false optimism can serve is the cause of those who, for their own class interests, wish to disarm the democratic movement of resistance to fascism and the fascist aggressors and to diminish the vigilance of the friends of peace.

No one, of course, will deny that this growing tension is of a new kind, that it is different from that which preceded the dramatic week-end of May 20 when world anti-fascism made it impossible for Hitler's twelve Reichswehr divisions to march into Czechoslovakia.

NEW TENSION

It is, indeed, just because of that victory that the situation now developing is different, that the tension characterizing the present period is deeper and less obvious than previously. And it is just because this is so that the need for vigilance, that the fight against all tendencies towards disarming the democratic movement is to-day more than ever urgent.

Let us, therefore, examine the position as it is at the moment.

It is now generally admitted—except in the British capitalist press—that the three factors mainly responsible for defeating the very obvious designs of the Third Reich on May 20 were:

- (1) The very prompt and extraordinarily efficient defence measures taken by the Czechoslovakian President, Dr. Benes, and the Czechoslovak General Staff;
- (2) The unambiguous declaration issued from the Quai d'Orsay that France was ready to fulfil her obligations to Czechoslovakia; and

- (3) The equally unambiguous information that reached Warsaw—and hence Berlin—that the Soviet Union would not tolerate a German, or German-Polish attack on Czechoslovakia—information which completely disorganized the joint German-Polish plans for a co-ordinated action. (There is reason to believe that a joint German-Polish attack was contemplated. Polish divisions had certainly been moved up to the Czech frontier, and, according to sources usually to be relied upon, those Polish divisions were to attack the Teschen district simultaneously with the German attack on Bohemia.)

What was the position of the Chamberlain Government? The amazing divergence between the reports in the British and French press and the actual facts was perhaps one of the most revealing aspects of the whole situation.

Immediately it was obvious that the Nazi plan had been frustrated, an overwhelming flood of propaganda was released to the effect that this had been mainly due to "vigorous British demarches" in Berlin, to the "perfect functioning of the Anglo-French Entente."

PRESS LIES

Nothing could have been more removed from the truth—as certain sections of the French press obviously realized after a while.

According to the best sources, the British Ambassador began by expressing the "apprehension" of his Government at the extensive German troop movements up to the Czech border. He was told by von Ribbentrop that these were nothing extraordinary, that they were "seasonal, routine" movements, and he went away apparently satisfied when, to the entire world, it was patently obvious that the Reich Foreign Minister had told just another of his gilt-edged lies.

Next morning he was back again with more expressions of "apprehension," only to be told this time that the troop movements were "purely defensive" in view of the "provocative" activities of the Czechs. Finally, he paid

his third visit to the Wilhelmstrasse and informed Ribbentrop of the British position—that Mr. Chamberlain was anxious for a “peaceful settlement,” that every influence would be used to bring about such a settlement, that if such a settlement were reached, Britain would be ready to open up negotiations for a “general settlement,” and finally that, with the French taking up the attitude they had done, there was a possibility of Britain being involved if it did come to war.

BRITISH MANOEUVRES

The fact of the matter was that the Chamberlain Government found itself in a very difficult position. It would not give a straight-forward warning to Germany as the French had done because to do so would have destroyed the main basis for the longed-for Four-Power Western European Pact. But it could not, on the other hand, do nothing at all for that would have meant showing its hand too openly leading to serious complications at home. It had, therefore, to do just sufficient to save its face and not enough to upset Hitler, who had been stopped by other factors any-

Thus Britain was in fact the sole weak sector in the democratic front, and it was soon realized that, unless its attitude strengthened, the crisis that had been averted would certainly develop again. Actually, however, instead of hardening its attitude, Britain began at once actively to pursue a policy of assistance to Germany. That policy was and is one of attempting to isolate Czechoslovakia, while at the same time pressing the right wing Czech Agrarians inside the country to “open the front” to the Nazis, by capitulating to the Henleinist demands.

IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Let us now consider the position inside Czechoslovakia itself.

Immediately after its defeat of May 20 the Third Reich and its Henleinist agents in Czechoslovakia demanded the withdrawal of the defence troops that had been sent into the frontier areas.

It was obvious why this should have been their foremost demand. For

in the first place, their presence and,

indeed, the general active preparedness of the Czechs ruled out the possibility of the Nazis delivering a surprise attack similar to that which took Austria;

in the second place, it ruled out the possibility of an *effective*, surprise action by the Henleinists from within; and

finally, by curtailing to some extent the Henlein terror in the Sudeten areas, it was bound to strengthen the democratic opposition in these areas and so prevent Henlein ensuring for himself the 100 per cent vote which he had declared he would obtain.

The Czech Government very rightly refused to consider this demand and immediately British diplomacy swung into action. Accepting the German proposal that “neutral observers” should be sent into the Sudeten areas and that



... the Czechs don't respect
"Mein Kampf"

these would then render the presence of the defence troops “unnecessary,” the British suggested to Prague that it might, after all, be better—in the interests of a “peaceful settlement” if the troops were withdrawn. Once again the proposal was rejected.

PRO-HITLER PRESSURE

Then, in spite of the objections of the British Minister—and, apparently, over his head—three more demands, categorical this time, were made for the withdrawal of the troops and the two British Military Attachés were sent off on a tour of Sudetenland, to act as “neutral observers.”

Not content with this, the British conducted an simultaneous attack on the Nationalities Statutes in order to obtain

more far reaching concessions for the Henleinists than the Czech Government was prepared to give on its own. This attack was conducted through the right wing Agrarians in the Government, and in particular the Minister of the Interior, Czermy. Before the British started to intervene, the Statutes were, to all intents and purposes, complete in draft. The publication of this draft at that moment and its discussion in Parliament would have rallied round the Government a considerable number of non-Henlein Germans and had a very important effect on the elections still to take place.

Under pressure from the British, however, the Agrarians suddenly began to demand a revision of the draft and, so, effectively held up its publication. This was nothing more nor less than a provocation playing right into Henlein's hands. But that was not all. Under joint German and British pressure negotiations were opened with the Henlein representatives, and these negotiations were kept absolutely secret.

GAGGING THE PRESS

Finally—and very approximately at the same time as British pressure was brought to bear in Paris to obtain the isolation and effective gagging of the French Communists—there came the British-inspired threat to ban the Communist daily paper *Rude Pravo*.

Today, Hitler is once again manoeuvring for positions from which to push ahead once again with his aggressive designs, but neither he nor his friends in London are anxious for a war which could only result in a crushing defeat of fascism. Therefore he and his accomplices are aiming to isolate Czechoslovakia externally, while seeking to strengthen the Henleinist position within the Republic, in order ultimately to overrun it.

It will be seen, therefore, that, contrary to the falsely assumed optimism which Mr. Chamberlain and his friends are now trying to hawk around, a new deterioration of the crucial situation in Central Europe is taking place. And it is obvious enough from all we have said that for this deterioration the Chamberlain Government is mainly responsible.



SPAIN'S WILL TO VICTORY

By G. MARION

WITH apologies to Maine, it is still pertinent despite all the changes that have taken place since July 1936, to say: "As Spain goes, so goes the world." And how goes Spain? There, at great relative cost, fascist advances continue. Great relative cost: high cost per foot, heavy losses in relation to Republican casualties and outlay.

Against their great power armies the ragged arms-poor Loyalists stand up in good order. The fascists have been compelled to plunge in on a scale for which they were wholly unprepared and which would ruin them at the slightest challenge from the democracies. Puppet Chamberlain, his own feet in a political quicksand, has strained the muscles of world-reaction to postpone that challenge. But the "unreasonable" resistance of the Spanish people raises the question anew each day. No wonder the fascists grow panicky and bomb civilian centers with more than terroristic purpose—bomb with an absolutely frantic desire to end the war before it ends them! No wonder they bomb British ships to aid Chamberlain in intimidating the war-hating British people!

SPAIN WILL WIN

So the war does not end and it may drag out not another year but ten. And

who will win? The German propaganda mill turning out defeatist arguments for the consumption of Tory sympathizers and of the week-kneed, has stopped saying that "it is all over." It now affects to see a long death agony of the Spanish people, meaning a delayed but certain victory for the invaders. No one, no, not one competent observer who has visited Loyalist Spain

and sensed the morale of its people, agrees with Herr Goebbels. Such people, latest of whom is Waldo Frank writing in the *New Republic*, talk of an endless struggle with *guerrilla* beginning where *guerra* (war) ends.

I venture on the authority of a quite extensive front line contact—to correct just one of the deeply sensitive observations of Waldo Frank.

"The Spanish people cannot be beaten," he writes, "because their will to live has become less the will to survive or to win, than the *will to struggle*." (His emphasis).

But the will of the Spanish people is, I affirm, more than the will to struggle. It is the will to win. In November 1937 I overheard a working woman recount her experiences in the North of Spain which has just fallen to the Germans and Italians. The horror of bombing—which the North knew as the rest of Spain can only imagine—was engraved on her memory. Her husband and all his friends had disappeared in the pit of war which rarely leaves a trace to give, at least, the certainty of death. Beside her were a small boy and a little girl. These were the last of seven children. Fifteen men in her family had gone to the war and not one was known to be alive.

"Ask yourself," she remarked, "whe-



ther my heart bleeds. But I know I shall live to die. I worked like a dog married from the time I was old. I shall work like a dog I want to live. I shall live to revenge." Her revenge could through victory; her individual for justice is the collective victory. And if I insist upon this is because a long residence in Spain convinced me that the struggle dies unless it is fed by the ultimate victory.

SPANISH UNITY GROWS

Fortunately, in the face of international cynicism and shameful cowardice of Spaniards as Spaniards, regardless of the differences in politics and creed, the grown steadily stronger as the nation have grown stiffer. There is the key to faith, there is the key to resistance, there is the secret of victory.

"And a little child shall lead them." How proudly the youth of Spain can look back, today, to their foresighted action, when, before the war (in May 1936) they drove out the unity-hating Trotskyites and fused Spain's two great youth organizations. Then, in the heat of war, they opened their doors to all Spanish youth in one great Youth Alliance. There is no secret about this intense interest of young people in the

These three maps show the historical precedent for the victory of the Spanish people.

One at the top of page 24 shows the situation in the year 1811 when Napoleon had practically overrun all of Spain. But by the year 1812, shown at the bottom of page 24 the situation had changed.

Map three at the top of page 25 shows the proportions of the territory which Franco has "conquered", but the news, as we go to press, makes it necessary to revise the map in favor of the Republican government.

TOWARDS THE DEFEAT OF CHAMBERLAIN

By R. P. DUTT

AS we approach once more the anniversary of the fateful date when the world entered into war in 1914, the thoughts of all are concerned with the menacing prospect of the coming months. To whichever side we turn whether in Spain or the Far East, the bombing of British ships in the Mediterranean or Hitler's threat to Czechoslovakia and Hungary in Central Europe, it is clear that the menace of the situation and the advance of open war operations grows greater and not less. The right to live like decent human beings—as they did not in the past. They are fighting for a future. Is it any wonder that a million young men defend their inheritance at the front?

WHY THE FASCISTS ADVANCE

Yet despite the faith held by the Spanish people in their own ultimate victory, the foreigners advance. Ask the boys of the Lincoln Brigade why they advance. Ask the veterans. At Brunete in July 1937 the Government undertook a rapid penetration manoeuvre. There were no planes or cannon to replace those exhausted in the first week.

Such was the influence of non-intervention on the war that the men had to make their night entry on foot after two and three previous nights of marching. Machine-gunners entered a long field campaign after dragging their own guns for miles, sometimes carrying them on their backs. As machine-gunner Ray Steele who remarked, "Gee, I'm tired," and was killed outright at that weary moment. When the fascists launched their 1938 offensive they moved swiftly in trucks, protected by masses of aviation, artillery and tanks. New cannon replaced worn bores; new planes took up where tired motors left off. Of course they advanced.

And yet, after an initial surprise had scored a break in the Republican ranks, the advance simmered down to an annihilation pace; they could achieve objective only after devoting that tonnage

a United Peace Alliance to defeat Chamberlain and establish a Government which could range Britain with the Peace Bloc, and rejected it by 4,492,000 to 2,382,000 votes.

TWO CONGRESSES

The National Peace Congress at Bristol representing miscellaneous pacifist elements with some Labour organizations, and gathering about 750 delegates from 400 very varied organisations, rejected the resolution presented it by the platform and broke up without reaching any decision on the main questions of policy. These square inch of defense line! At this pace they will eventually achieve self-destruction. Napoleon lost five armies in Spain and tore down his own prestige. Why should Hitler and Mussolini fare better?

MORE HELP NEEDED

The Spanish people have faith in ultimate victory because they know, first, that they can carry on for years, and, second, the fascists must "win or scatter." They must win or scatter because the pistol and knout cannot maintain unity against defeat. Nor can human beings shore up their own declining spirits by reflecting on fascist ideals (as achieved in the Badajoz bull ring). No one knows better than Hitler and Mussolini that the slightest decline in German and Italian aid would break up the Fascist rearguard. More, the fascists listen to voices all over the world demanding a counterbalance to that aid: the sale of arms to the legitimate government. That, too, they know, would be sufficient to raise rebel Spain against the invaders. They shudder when they hear the American people crying, "Lift the embargo against Loyalist Spain." They shudder—and bomb another hospital! Yet every bomb shakes the British Tory government and the whole international conspiracy trembles at each bloody foot of Fascist advance in Spain. How slow we have been to exploit this weakness of the aggressors! Lift the embargo—and Spain will win!



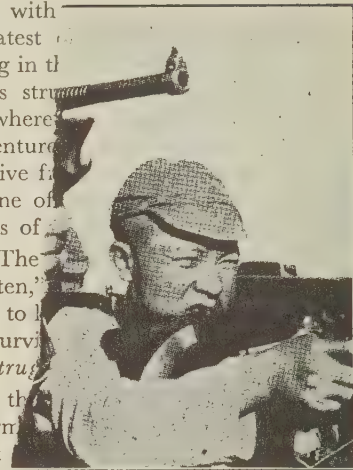
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and the world-wide boycott of Japanese goods which is growing every day, and it becomes evident that Japan faces early exhaustion.

JAPANESE CRISIS

Even at the outbreak of war the economic situation in Japan was in a serious condition. The cost of the war against China has made the situation critical. An examination of the official reports, (which may be depended upon to minimize the actual conditions) discloses the fact that she has a budget deficit of one billion yen annually. The foreign trade has been steadily declining since 1936 when imports totaled 700,000,000 yen over exports. Every day that the war with China continues adds to the impending disaster of Japanese economy.

Japan can expect little help from her two fascist allies, Germany and Italy. Both these fascist powers have invaded Spain and, they, too, miscalculated. Instead of a quick conquest, they are faced with a terrific defense put up by the Spanish people. Besides, neither Germany nor Italy is in any position to help Japan economically for both of these powers rest on extremely shaky economic foundations.

In the military field itself, the Japanese Generals have under-estimated the fighting ability of the Chinese people. Since the beginning of the war, China has become more unified than it has been in modern times. For the first

CHINA'S WILL TO VICTORY

Japan has scored military victories. It has captured some of the most important Chinese cities. It has established a blockade over the Chinese coast that is extremely effective. But Japan has not won the war. What is more important, it has completely failed to carry out its plan to crush China quickly and force her to capitulate to the Japanese demands. Instead of making a settlement of a "local incident" by Christmas 1937, Japan is now confronted with a long war that can end only in victory for China.

The Japanese General Staff expected to fight a China that was emasculated by splits and disruptions, by internal civil wars, by treason and corruption. A quick, decisive blow would have China reeling, the Japanese calculated and they would have time to consolidate their newly-won territories in preparation for another incident.

JAPANESE CALCULATIONS

The Japanese General Staff miscalculated. They find themselves now in midst of a war not with a provincial General, but with the entire Chinese people.

Speaking at Hankow, General Chiang Kai-Shek said:

"Appraising the probable outcome of the hostilities, we are convinced that the present situation is favorable to China. The basis of China's future success in prolonged resistance is not found in Nanking, nor in the big

cities, but in the villages all over China and in the resolute determination of the people. The time must come when Japan's military strength will be completely exhausted, thus giving us ultimate victory."

No longer a localized incident, the war in China has become one of "prolonged resistance;" that is, a war of endurance, of wearing out the enemy. This is exactly the kind of war that China is in the best position to carry out. It is also the kind that Japan fears most.

CHINESE ECONOMIC STRENGTH

Economically, China is in a far better position to carry on such a war than is Japan. She is primarily an agricultural country with tremendous, though as yet undeveloped, resources. Over 75 per cent of her population is on the farms and villages. The main source of China's wealth comes from agriculture. Compared to Japan, China's man-power is inexhaustible.

Japan's economic structure is more complex. Her lack of raw materials makes it necessary for her to import them, and, in turn, to export huge quantities of manufactured goods. In a prolonged war, Japan's stocks of war materials will become exhausted, forcing her to use more and more of her factories for the making of munitions which will curtail the manufacture of exportable goods. Add to this the fact that China was Japan's biggest market

time, the provincial governors have placed their private armies and the resources of their provinces at the disposal of the National Government. The Chinese Red Army has been reorganized into the Eighth Route Army adding not only great man-power but the most determined and best disciplined troops to the National armies.

GUERRILLA ACTIVITY

The more territory Japan occupies, the weaker it grows. As her armies march further into the interior of China, the lines of communication become longer. Guerrilla soldiers seep in behind the territory supposedly conquered by the Japanese and set up local governments which carry on the resistance against the invaders. The guerrilla tactics of the Chinese have become so effective that Japan finds it more and more necessary to retain behind the lines soldiers she needs at the front. Japanese garrisons control only the larger cities and the territory immediately around the railroads. Beyond that, the Chinese have reoccupied the land. Because of the increasing guerrilla activities, Japanese conquests are largely on paper. As in Shansi province, they have fought their way into some cities only to find that they had to fight their way out again.

CHINA NEEDS HELP

Unlike the case of Spain, China is in a better position to receive aid from democratic countries. Though most of her coast is blockaded, there are several land routes through which aid can come. From Hong-Kong and through French Indo-China material aid is coming in. A new road is being constructed by thousands of Chinese workers through the province of Sinkiang, the only route for supplies from the Soviet Union. Another highway is being made from Burma to Yunnan province. But deliveries through these routes are still inadequate, and difficult.

With the organization of the people, the resolution of the Chinese people to fight back the Japanese invasion grows stronger. In continued, determined resistance lies the defeat of Japan and the liberation of the Chinese people.

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But Britain still refuses to join that collective peace stand, and exercises pressure on Czechoslovakia to withdraw its troops and surrender to Hitler. Therefore the danger continues acute. We are in consequence faced with a situation which requires from all serious supporters of peace in Britain, not abstract long-term policies or philosophical discussions, but immediate practical decisions if war is to be checked and its extension prevented.

REALITY OF WAR

The reality of fascist war governs the question of war or peace. This is the issue which needs now to be brought home to all supporters of peace and which underlies the present so-called crisis of the peace movement, accompanying and corresponding to the advance of the international crisis.

How are the supporters of peace in Britain, whether in the Labour movement or beyond it, meeting this urgent situation? Two decisions of recent conferences throw a light on the answer to this question. The Co-operative Congress at Scarborough, the most widely representative body of the Labour movement, considered the plan adopted by the Co-operative Party for

a United Peace Alliance to defeat Chamberlain and establish a Government which could range Britain with the Peace Bloc, and rejected it by 4,492,000 to 2,382,000 votes.

TWO CONGRESSES

The National Peace Congress at Bristol representing miscellaneous pacifist elements with some Labour organizations, and gathering about 750 delegates from 400 very varied organisations, rejected the resolution presented it by the platform and broke up without reaching any decision on the main questions of policy. These two negative results show that there is far from readiness yet to meet the urgency of the present situation. They are a picture of disorganisation. There is not yet a clear common policy of advance.

But both these negative results contain a positive element. The two-and-one-third million votes for the Peace Alliance at Scarborough represent a powerful body of opinion which cannot be gainsaid its right to expression and which will be able (as in the previous fight of the minority against the official policy of support for "non-intervention" in Spain) to win the majority to the correctness of its policy.

The rejection of the platform resolution at Bristol (a resolution which excluded collective security or the Peace Bloc, and to which amendments were refused) was accompanied by a declaration from delegates representing a quarter-of-a-million members to the effect that, since any amendment was refused, this was the only way in which the Conference could express its desire for a stand for the policy of collective security and the Peace Bloc.

PEACE ADVANCE

Thus both results reveal a measure of advance behind the negative outcome, though not sufficient for the urgency of the situation.

Facts cannot be conjured out of

existence by a conference vote; and every event of the international situation in the coming months will further drive home the urgency of the People's Front. The basis of support already won gives confidence for future victory.

What is important now is to maintain and extend the freedom of discussion of this issue, which can by no means be treated as an old and settled question, but is only beginning to open out in its full scope before the whole Labour movement.

If we turn to the situation of the general peace movement, as revealed at the National Peace Congress at Bristol, there are important lessons to be learned for the future. The decision of the Bristol Congress, rejecting the main resolution submitted by the platform by a vote of 105 to 73, has been universally interpreted by the press as a "split" of the peace movement. This is a misleading description of the actual situation. No split in any formal or organisational sense took place to break the extremely loose association of bodies participating in the National Peace Congress or affiliated to the National Peace Committee; and the desire was expressed on all sides to find the most effective basis to build up and carry forward the strongest possible unity of the peace forces in this country.

DIRECTION NEEDED

The negative vote was a step forward in the process of clarification towards finding this basis for an effective united peace movement. But it is undoubtedly true that a very serious issue has now to be faced, as the cross-section of opinion represented at Bristol clearly showed, by the existing extremely weak and heterogeneous peace movement as at present organised, if great effectiveness and a stronger mass basis is to be achieved in the future; and the negative vote at Bristol was a definite condemnation of all attempts, however well-intentioned, to sidestep the issue.

What is this issue? It is commonly expressed as the issue between the policy of collective security and the abstract pacifism of non-resistance.

The central issue of controversy at Bristol (and supporters of collective security were to be found on both sides of the controversy) was whether the

peace movement should have a policy at all: that is, whether the peace movement should endeavour as a united movement to have a positive policy for peace in relation to the wars and war situation now developing, or should remain, in view of divergences of opinion existing, a loose heterogeneous self-contradictory association of individuals and groupings united only in the sentiment of the desire for peace, but without any positive policy to meet the advance of the war forces or attempt to take a common stand in relation to the urgent political issues of the present war situation.

SENTIMENT WORTHLESS

The latter was the situation of the peace movement before 1914; and in consequence it counted only as thistle-down in a hurricane when 1914 came. The sentiment for peace, however noble, is impotent, valueless and meaningless—and its abstract propaganda self-deception and practical assistance to the warmakers—unless it is translated into a positive and concrete programme, policy and organisation capable of defeating the warmakers and realising peace.

The real question facing the peace movement is a practical question governed by the realities of the present political situation. What are these realities? The war forces are steadily extending and advancing. They are advancing, not because they represent the majority, but because the peace forces are divided and disorganised, because the will of the overwhelming majority of the peoples for peace is not yet translated into a policy and organisation capable of realising peace. A peace movement which has no policy to meet this real situation of extending war has ceased to exist as a peace movement; by its passivity and acquiescence it becomes an accomplice of the war offensive. Individual moralities are here no substitute for a political policy.

SCIENTIFIC ATTITUDE

A policy is not judged by the subjective intentions of its authors, but by its results. A policy which facilitates and assists the extension of war is a war policy, by whatever name it may seek to call itself. Only a policy which

in fact promotes and strengthens peace is a peace policy. How can the will of the peoples for peace be organised in such a way as to check the extending fascist war aggression without leading to general war? This question is the touchstone for any peace policy in the realities of to-day.

But this question presents itself in a still sharper form for the peace movement in Britain. For it is peculiarity of the situation in Britain that the extreme reactionary "National" Government has worked continuously, and now works more openly than ever before under Chamberlain, to align the British people closely with the fascist Powers, to disrupt any democratic peace front or League of Nations stand, and to smooth the path for fascist war aggression against the democratic peoples (and eventually, as they hope, against the Soviet Union), so as to divert it away from the British Empire and against those whom the magnates of the City regard as dangerous to their interests.

This policy, which is a brutal, callous and reckless policy in support of war, is presented to the British people in the guise of "peace," as a policy of "keeping Britain out," of "non-intervention" and of "conciliation" with the fascist Powers. Where does the peace movement stand in relation to this policy of Chamberlain? This is the touchstone for pacifism in Britain to-day.

It is here that arise the most alarming indications of certain tendencies in the peace movement in Britain to-day which require to be frankly faced. The danger inherent at all times in bourgeois pacifism, because it is divorced from class understanding, because it is divorced from the working class movement, is to become the unconscious tool of bourgeois policy, and thereby of war policy, and even the best helper of cunningly presented war aims.

AGAINST COOPERATION

To give one atom of support to Chamberlain's policy, to assist under whatever arguments his aim of the passivity and paralysis of the British people and sabotage of any democratic peace front so as to leave a free path for fascist war, of his "conciliation" with the fascist Powers which covers in

practice connivance and encouragement for their aggression, means in reality to help, not peace, but the bloodiest war offensive the world has known and the most criminal reactionary Government in Britain which is fostering it.

This, and not any abstract philosophical issue, is the real urgent menace which underlies the propaganda of so-called "pure pacifism" or abstract pacifism that has been pushed forward very actively in Britain in the last few years (since Hitler came to power) with considerable funds and publicity and with support from certain sections of the upper class and of the fashionable literary intelligentsia. The philosophical standpoint of non-resistance has always existed in the pacifist movement, and has held an honoured place, when represented by those few who have genuinely striven to live according to its tenets.

NON-VIOLENCE USELESS

We who are Marxists cannot share that viewpoint, and would consider it a disaster if it were capable of winning any wide influence in the working class or in any democratic movement so as to disarm them before their oppressors. But we can fully respect those very few who, like Tolstoy in his old age, have genuinely striven, with all the consequent agonies and dilemmas of self-contradiction, to divest themselves from the basis of violence that is, in the first place to divest themselves from the basis of property (the rich preacher of non-violence, who is living on the spoils of violence, and is thus in reality only preaching to his slaves to be passive and servile, is a less pleasing picture.)

Decisive repudiation of the pro-fascist tendency in the peace movement. This is the first elementary necessity if the Peace movement in this country is to become healthy and effective. We do not ask of the supporters of non-violence to change overnight and abandon their tenets; time and experience and the urgency of the needs will help to clear these questions. But we do ask that they refuse to give support and encouragement to the most ruthless apostles of violence in the world's history. And when they have done this, then let us take counsel together what is the best

method to check the wars now raging in the world and to prevent the further spread of fascism's war aggression.

It is not a question of asking any individual to abandon his personal beliefs. But it is necessary to think, and to judge this question, not simply from a personal standpoint, as if it were only a problem of a personal rôle, but on behalf of the whole peace movement, of the peoples, of the democracies, what they should do, and only on this basis and after this judgement to come back to the personal question. The first concern of every supporter of peace should be, not his personal liking or inclination, but what can best help peace.

Hitler and Mussolini invade Spain. Japan spreads death and destruction in China. Hitler threatens Czechoslovakia. What is the answer of the peace movement in Britain? "We will not fight." How will that help the murdered peo-



Reinhardt, New Masses

"I Wanna' Marry the Butcherboy!"

ples of Spain or China? It is not a question of it being a disputable wrong answer. The answer is in the strictest sense irrelevant. It does not bear on the question. Or rather, it does bear on it, but in a very different sense from that intended. For in fact this is the answer Chamberlain wants to be made.

It is precisely Chamberlain who endeavours to create the belief that the slightest move by Britain, even to accord normal legal rights to the Spanish Government, or to withhold economic and financial support from the aggressor, would immediately lead to war,

and that, since the first consideration must be to prevent this, therefore nothing must be done which would in the slightest way impede fascist war and aggression. Chamberlain's propaganda is exactly helped by this answer. But the invaded peoples are not helped; and peace is not helped.

What other answers are offered from those supporters of pacifism who refuse the policy of collective security? "Let us make friends with Hitler and Mussolini." Much joy this will bring to the peoples of Canton and Alicante, and much comfort to the threatened Czechs. But once again Chamberlain is already carrying out this policy. What need of a peace movement if it can only repeat what Chamberlain is already doing? And the results of Chamberlain's policy we can see in the world around. "Let us give Hitler and Mussolini colonies and financial credits." Much joy this will give to the colonial peoples, whose love for the peace movement that is so kindly ready to dispose of them, will become almost equal to their love for Hitler.

NO HELP TO HITLER

The advantages accorded to Hitler and Mussolini will enable them to carry on their wars on a larger scale and more successfully. "Let us try a constructive policy: the Van Zeeland Report." The "constructive policy" has always a curious habit of turning into a system of support and financial credits for the aggressor. And so on without end. It is obvious that the attempted answers are never answers; they are only symptoms of the howling void where there is no answer to the most urgent issue of peace or war to-day.

Once the peace movement can cease to be tied to the apron strings of Chamberlain and the Government, once it can come out clearly and without hesitation for a positive policy which is capable of realising peace and will appeal to and win the support of the majority of the population, once it can combine the supporters of peace and various organizations on this basis in a united movement, associated with all the Labor and democratic forces, then at last it can begin to realise its rôle, it can become a power and begin, not merely to express the aspirations for peace, but to make peace a reality.

FASCIST INROADS IN LATIN AMERICA

ON DECEMBER 1, 1936, the most important peace gathering ever held in this hemisphere took place in Buenos Aires. President Roosevelt undertook the long journey to the southern metropolis to make the Conference inauguration speech. Its decisions, while reflecting the isolationism that characterized American policy at the time, intended to do away with the causes of war, at least in the Americas.

It is a sad fact that during the past three years most Latin American reactionary countries have been brought more and more under the influence of the fascist nations. This fact has found expression in the many services rendered by Latin American governments to the fascists in their wars of aggression.

FASCIST PENETRATION

During the Italian invasion of Ethiopia, the first governments to violate the League of Nations sanctions were Latin American. Chilian copper and nitrate poured into Italian munition factories. Brazilian cotton and Argentinian beef went to clothe and feed the invading hordes. When the Spanish war broke out, the majority of the Latin American governments gave aid to Franco with food shipments and political support. Batista held one of the largest Spanish steamers in the harbor of Havana and prevented it from going to Mexico to get needed food and munitions. The embassies and consulates of the Latin American governments housed the "Fifth Column" and served as nests of espionage in Madrid, Valencia, and other important cities. Latin American raw material plays a very important role in the Japanese war plans. In the League of Nations most Latin American governments have been the spokesmen for the fascist aggressors and have done all in their power to wreck any action intended to check the bombing of defenseless cities.

FASCIST "FIFTH COLUMNS"

This war entente that is expressed in the field of international cooperation, is

The Fascist Axis Spans the Oceans in the Fight Against Democracy in the Americas

By R. A. MARTINEZ

also expressed in the tacit cooperation with the fascist war plans within Latin America itself. It is clear that Latin America's vast resources and extraordinary strategic position have been fitted into the fascist scheme for world war.

As far back as 1933, when Chile was still in the depth of the crisis, Puerto Montt, a port that has been commercially dead since the opening of the Panama Canal, was being modernized by a German Company, with Japanese financial backing. If the Panama Canal destroyed the commercial value of Puerto Montt, it enhanced its war importance. The port is at the mouth of a series of channels of great military significance in case something happens to the Panama Canal, for these channels lead to the Strait of Magallanes, the only inter-ocean route left open. If a World War breaks today this port can

be taken by thirty thousand Germans who live in the south of Chile. They are thoroughly organized and led by Nazi Agents.

Also within striking distance is the Talcahuano Naval Base, the largest in the south-Pacific. Further up, in Peru, we find the Capronis building a place factory. In November of last year an imposing Italian military mission headed by one of the leaders of the Italian Air Force arrived in Peru.

DANGER TO PANAMA CANAL

In case of war the Panama Canal can be attacked from countries whose fascist leanings are known. Guatemala, with coasts in both the Atlantic and the Pacific, is openly and arrogantly pro-fascist. Franco has been planning the establishment of a submarine base in this country. Basing himself at Puerto Barrios, Franco planned to blockade the Gulf of Mexico and prevent the help given by the Mexican government from reaching Loyalist Spain. This fascist impudence was denounced on the floor of the U. S. Senate by Senator Norris.

Salvador, closer still to the Panama Canal, is Japan's best friend in Latin America. It was the first country to recognize Manchoukuo. The Cuban Dictator, Batista, showed his sympathy for Nazi Germany by giving medals to Goering and Goebbels. Brazil, with its more than Forty German airports, in spite of recent anti-Nazi developments, continues to be a totalitarian state fundamentally in the hands of rabid reactionary and pro-fascist elements. Military and Naval missions travel back and forth from Latin American to Rome-Berlin, and Tokio.

WAR DANGER INTENSE

These great fascist inroads cannot but intensify the war danger within Latin America itself. It is true that after three years of effort a peace treaty has being signed Bolivia and Paraguay. It is also true, however, that to the very last moment general skepticism reigned about it being signed at all. The treaty, it is generally acknowledged, came as a result of the personal efforts of Mr. Braden, President Roosevelt's personal representative at the Peace Conference, and is a reflection



of the powerful peace pressure that the U. S. government has exerted.

Recent events have shown that healed war sores are being reopened. During June, Peru and Ecuador were on the point of a war mobilization. In October of last year, eight thousand Haitians were brutally massacred by the troops of Santo Doming. The Dictator of this Country, Trujillo, has organized an air force under Italian instructors, and is infecting the country with fascist propaganda. After the fascist coup of President Vargas last November, the Integralists (Brazilian Green-Shirts) raised the question of reestablishing the "natural frontiers of Brazil," a war slogan aiming at the conquest of Paraguay and Uruguay. It will not be long before the old border conflict between Peru and Chile for the possession of the nitrate field of north Chile will be reopened. A victory for the Chilean People's Front at the next presidential election might be used by the fascists for such a purpose.

The fascist war danger in Latin America is also expressed in the powerful armaments race now taking place. Not only are most Governments arming but the armaments are coming from Germany and Italy. This is especially true of war planes.

These are the main war developments that have taken place in Latin America since the Buenos Aires Peace Conference almost two years ago. Neither the decisions nor even the aims set at this conference for Latin America have been achieved. The reason is clear: Fascist war activities in Latin America have increased as the war danger developed throughout the world. The fight against war is indivisible. And this fact was ignored in the decisions of the Buenos Aires Conference.

The Second World Youth Congress has awakened hope in the hearts of Latin American youth. It will bring together a broader and larger representation of youth than any previous international gathering ever held. No doubt, out of this Congress, the youth of Latin America will return more united than ever and ready to make our hemisphere a real bulwark of peace and democracy.

What About the Catholics?

(Continued from Page 11)

bigotry may lead to. Does he not see how dangerous such a policy is for the Catholic community which he professes to represent? Have not the Catholic people of this country time and time again been victims of unjust attacks and religious intolerance? And there is a direct connection between red-baiting and religious intolerance whether Father Mooney sees it or not. The suffering Catholic masses of Germany and Austria can well attest to that. Their leaders too gave active or passive support to fascism when it called for the blood of the Communists, Socialists and others. But as they sowed so did they reap. Today, Catholic and Communist leaders alike are persecuted in Nazi dungeons and concentration camps and the people are denied all political and religious freedom. Let us not make the same error here.

As citizens of course, Father Mooney and the other Catholic leaders have every right to their own political beliefs and hence to their opposition to Communism, even though we believe that most of this opposition would disappear if knowledge and cooperation replaced ignorance and prejudice toward Communism.

But let that be as it may. The issue before us is not Communism. No one, least of all the Communists, participate in the World Youth Congress in the hope of having it adopt a Communist program. We know the majority of American youth are not yet convinced of the correctness of such a program. We are modest enough to know that we represent what is as yet a small minority. Our aim in participating in the congress is to help bring about unity of all youth in behalf of peace, in behalf of civil and religious liberties, in behalf of jobs, education and higher living standards.

Can Catholics and Communists work together on the questions of peace and social justice? They do cooperate in the trade unions and to their mutual benefit. Why not in the youth movement?

The danger before us is great. Pope Pius XI in two recent statements called

the attention of all Catholics to the grave menace of false racial theories and extreme nationalism. We are in complete agreement with these warnings of the Pope. We, too, are international in our outlook. We believe in the brotherhood of man. We oppose the false race theories of Hitler and Mussolini. We oppose extreme nationalism which can only lead to war. We respect the religious beliefs of others and stand for complete freedom of religious worship. On these questions dealt with by Pope Pius, Communists and Catholics can work together. It is because we feel so strongly about these dangers that confront us that we are participating in the World Youth Congress. We see in it the means by which to help bring the youth of the world together, to help overcome narrow nationalism, false race theories, religious intolerance, and to encourage and promote international fellowship and good-will.

Pope Pius, through His Eminence Cardinal Verdier, has already expressed himself on the question of whether Catholics can accept the outstretched hand of the Communists. In reply to the French Communists he said:

"If this gesture of the outstretched hand from your side expresses the wish to become better acquainted with your Catholic brothers in order to give better respect to the religion which inspires them to their convictions, their feelings, their works, then the Church will not refuse to carry out this work of enlightenment and you will recognize that this can contribute greatly to the happiness of all."

We are confident that the leaders of Catholic youth will act in accord with the desire of their young people and will find it possible and profitable to join hands with all other youth in defense of their common interests. We hope that they will still see their way clear to participate in the 2nd World Youth Congress, for we are convinced that once they end their policy of aloofness and isolation what today appear as major obstacles to unity will tomorrow be seen in their true light as only brotherly disagreements and misunderstandings that can be discussed and clarified.

What Happened On the Aragon Front...

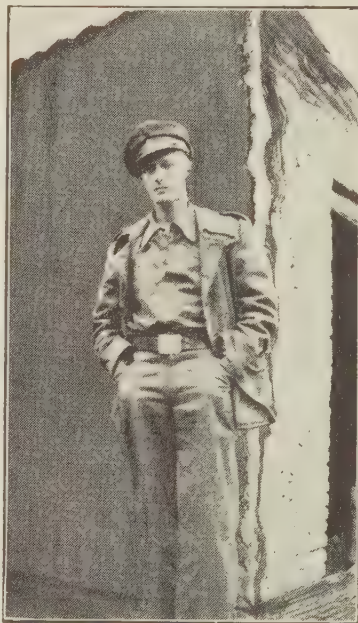
Dear . . .

HOW are yuh, kid? Don't talk to me about guilty conscience, meant to write, honest I did. But anyway there's no real excuse so go ahead and whip me.

But I had some excuse, you must admit. There are times when it's impossible to take time off to write. One of those times is when you are inside Fascist lines, my dear. At any rate don't let anyone ever tell us again that we haven't seen both sides in this war. The story I have to tell is the kind that grows on you. But not like other stories—the more you think of it—the more scared you get. By the time I get home there will be so many embellishments to the darn thing that—well I better give you an outline of it now so you can call me a liar later on.

We were holding the line near Batea—not only holding the line, but actually making some advances. We went into action on the morning. This was open warfare, no line was established. We went to fill in a pretty big gap and thus prevent enemy infiltration. By order of the commander of the Battalion I was stationed as responsible on the field telephone. But I got out of that as quickly as possible because I wanted to be in on the attack, and I got over to the command post of the Bat. just as we were taking a couple of hills from the fascists. We had a fairly good day. We advanced our position, Tommie Lloyd and a couple of others captured a fascist water tank, Tommie capturing two fascists with an old horse pistol that didn't work. We attacked again before dark and advanced our line. In all that day there only about a dozen wounded. The next day we consolidated our position. It wasn't till late afternoon that word came that way over to our left the line broke and the fascists were coming in behind us.

We knew we had to get out of that position. I want to point out here, however, that the Linc. Bat. never retreats from any position without orders. We spent all that night tramping over terraced mountains. At dawn, we were outside Gandesa and saw our predicament. Fascists in front of us, fascists to the left of us, fascists to the right of us, volleyed and thundered.... and of course the bastards



A Letter from George Watt Tells About the Famous April Retreat Now Being Avenged in Catalonia

in back of us. We had to break through. We deployed and started marching on the town. I don't know whether it was their design or just that they were dumbfounded at the guts we showed, but they let us come pretty deep into the valley without opening fire upon us. Then suddenly from all sides, their guns spat and an impenetrable wall was set up. We had to go back. They opened their artillery on the hill where we took up our positions again.

Most of the day we watched their trucks converge on the town from the roads to the North and South of the town. Towards nightfall, their cavalry came up in back of us. We calmly waited and then opened up everything we had, machine-guns and rifles. They retreated. Then tried again with more determination. We cut them down again. We didn't know how long our ammunition would last and made every shot count. The moment night fell we left the hill and started to describe a big arc to break through to our lines. The group began to split up as we ran into fascist patrols and some of the boys were captured. We kept going, fatigued and blistered feet, racing against dawn. With the first appearance of grey we had past the last road, were walking through the valley which we were certain would lead to our lines, when on top of the ridge on our left appeared silhouetted figures.

"Hoiga," he said, and "Hoiga," we said.

"Quien es?" asks he and "Quien es," asks we. All the time we keep walking further into the valley.

"Que bandera?"

The minute we hear that we know they are fascists. It's the question of the mercenary. Under what flag do you fight? The fascists have many flags and many mercenary troops. It was getting light now. We had to make our choice—to go back or go forward. First impulse tells us to go back—but cool deliberation (which always serves us in the tensest moments) tells us to go forward. To go back is to be trapped. To go forward perhaps a deeper trap—but a fighting chance. So we kept on going. We saw them put their machine guns in place. Johnny Gates and I remained a bit behind to urge and hurry the men onward. Then they opened up. Well I have found from experience that I can run faster than a machinegun can traverse, and it worked this time too. Not only for me but for most of the guys. Cutting deeper into the valley we kept bearing

toward the left. Some of the boys had been trapped by the machine gun fire. But most got thru. We went up a hill. Noone seemed to be there. But when we got to the top—what should we hear but—the old familiar “Hoiga.” One of our Spanish speaking guys went over and said we were fortification men come to fortify the hill—(we didn’t have a single pick or shovel on us). A few minutes later (it was daylight now) rifle bullets whiz by our heads and we duck behind the hill. Then we saw the mountain pass which we knew lead to our lines and we made for it. It was in the hills on the side of this pass that we spent all morning dodging bombs and shells. They had an observation plane above us and every time we made a move, a rain of shells came over. Then planes came over and bombed.

Boy, you should have seen those mountains—they shook like the milkshake we never see around here. Everything was black with smoke and I laughed like hell when I saw our guys after one of the barrages. Of course, I looked the same—black like the coal man or something. They threw everything at us and the results—very little. I got tiny bits of shrapnel in my hand—some of the boys got some in their head and legs. It was during this shelling that I stayed behind with a first aid man while he was administering 1st aid to one of the wounded, and I lost the main column which had marched ahead.

We picked up a couple of more guys on the road and marched towards the river, keeping out of the towns because by this time there were fascist outposts and patrols in the town and hills. In the hills, peasants fed us nuts and oranges and wine and told us where to go. We got to the river so pooped that we had to get some sleep in one of the houses on the river. It was stupid going to sleep in fascist territory but then again we had had so many narrow escapes up till now that hell—we knew it was nothing. We had our hands on our rifles. Each one of us was determined that no fascist would take us alive. Three more guys bumped into us and we decided to cross. We built a raft out of a big door. Dawn was coming again and we knew it would be next to impossible to cross in the daytime without being shot at. So we set out. Two guys took a log; when they got out half way they had to let go of the log because the swift current made it more difficult to hold the log up. I and another guy set out about the same time with nothing at all. About three more guys set out on the raft. In the darkness we couldn’t see very well but we believe the raft turned over and some of the boys were drowned—I was alone and way down stream by this time. Kept plugging with my stroke (you remember that famous stroke of mine) and finally got across. There were three of us all together—naked and wet except for our hats in which we kept our military books and wallets. We walked for a couple of hours over rocks (little rocks—the kind that cut your feet) and thru shrub, till we hit the road—got a lift and ran into the brigade. For the next 4 or 5 days the boys kept coming in. Each time another comrade arrived there was rejoicing. Now our Batallion is almost full strength again, the morale highest I’ve ever seen in Spain. Right now we’re training to improve ourselves, to be prepared to meet the fascists and advance on a much

higher technical plane than ever before. Things aren’t so tough right now. Johnny can tell you plenty about the life we lead, when he gets home. Every now and then a couple of planes come over, our anti-aircraft opens up. Our artillery keeps popping. Down by the river, there’s occasional machine-gun burst, one in a great while somebody gets wounded; but it’s heaven I tell you. The last couple of days we’ve been eating rabbit and roast chicken. Of course, I miss a person or two (and you know who “they” are, so why tell you about it?). Spain is a beautiful country when you get a chance to live in it.

To all appearances, the fronts are quiet. Actually they are not. What happens is everyday they attack ferociously and everyday our forces drive them back causing them very great losses. Time is still on our side. We are getting more and more material and more and more organization which will enable us to make the drive to cut them off. There ain’t no men left in the rear. All of Spain and especially Catalans are mobilized. Industry is at last integrated into the war machine. The government is strong and has already made itself felt in every phase of the war. The proclamation of 13 points which the government has issued has the support of every section of the population.

(over)

from
Alianza,
the Spanish
youth paper



So, do you think with all that on our side, we can lose the war? It's going to be a real tough fight, but we're prepared.

We lost some of the best guys and some of the best friends I ever had in this last action. But there's no time to weep now. We just work ten times harder to prepare our Battalion for the next action and when we do go in, personal vengeance will play no small part in our actions.

About the job I have now, well Johnny will probably tell you when he gets home. It's called Comisar de Guerra (Commissar of War) of the Lincoln-Washington Battalion. Someday soon I'll write you more about the work. In the meantime give my regards to all the N. Y. kids. Tell them I can read any handwriting so how about some letters. But don't only write to me, there are plenty of boys here who don't get much mail.

We see by the papers there's a big drive to change the neutrality law. Well it better be changed. We need some American cannon and planes and tanks here. We'd even forego some American cigarettes in the place of a couple of cannon. So how about this offer?

Love and Salud

GEORGE

AMONG CONTRIBUTORS

Alex Bittelman . . . is a member of the National Committee of the Communist Party and writes the famous "Notes of the Month" in its official organ *The Communist*. . . . Theodore Draper . . . is the foreign editor of the *New Masses*, and recently returned from a stay in Europe. . . . M. Litvinov . . . is, of course, the Soviet Minister for Foreign Affairs. . . . Richard Goodman, whose article has been abridged from *Labour Monthly* is a well-known British political writer. . . . G. Marion . . . is an American journalist, who spent over a year on the Spanish battlefront. . . .

Joe Green is an editorial assistant for the *Young Communist Review*. . . . R. P. Dutt, edits *Labour Monthly*, and conducts its influential "Notes of the Month" from the July issue of which this article was taken. . . . R. A. Martinez is an expert on Latin American affairs . . . and George Watt is, as is well-known, the War Commissar of the Washington-Lincoln Battalion. . . . Gil Green, Carl Ross, and Joseph Starobin are editors of the *Young Communist Review* . . . the first two being president and executive secretary of the YCL, respectively, and the third, director of publications.

EDITOR'S NOTE

Because of space limitations in this special August issue devoted to the World Youth Congress, two important articles have been held over for next month. One is the third article in a series on "Science and Capitalism" by Francis Franklin which has aroused comment. Second is a timely and compelling article by Mac Weiss on "Youth Problems in the 1938 Elections."

Next month will feature material on the 1938 Elections, our estimate of the World Youth Congress, and a partial return on the questionnaire, which will be found on the opposite page.

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If you were the editor of the Review...



DEAR READER:

This is number six of the *Young Communist Review* since I became its editor. I think we have come quite a ways and most of the comrades on the Editorial Board feel the same way about it.

It's the kind of magazine we had been wanting to put out . . . a magazine that would speak for the YCL to the YCL, but also to the thousands of young people around the YCL. We have tried to make it attractive, and still substantial; and let me tell you, it was not easy to keep on the straight and narrow path.

But then every once in a while we get a sneaking feeling that maybe this isn't the kind of magazine the YCLers want . . . maybe we are off on a tangent, out on a limb.

Now I want to tell you that we have done fairly well . . . month after month, our circulation has been rising steadily, and now we can say that the *Review* reaches about one in every three members of the organization.

Of course, we have plans for pushing the circulation, boosting it into those regions where every member will buy and read it every month, where the costs per copy will come down and the money that flows in regularly (did I say regularly?) will enable us to enlarge and beautify the *Review*.

On the other hand, after six months . . . let's pause.

Let's stop at the crossroads, and get the consensus of opinion: how have we been doing? and where do we go from here?

If every reader of the special August issue will sit down and think about this questionnaire, and fill out the answers, the Editorial Board of the *Review* will have something to go by in the next six months.

If you don't feel that you want to answer for yourself, and would like to talk it over in your branch, I suggest you hold a meeting devoted to the *Young Communist Review* and discuss the matter. Let your answers be collective.

On the other hand, if you feel you have a lot to say, and can't keep within the limits of the questionnaire, why, then write us a letter!

The 20 best letters that we receive, that really help us to determine the course of the next six issues, will be rewarded by one year's subscription to the *Young Communist Review* . . . FREE. The names of the leaders who win the subscription will be published.

And the best of these will be reprinted in forthcoming issues of the *Review*.

Yours, for a better magazine,

Joe Staudin

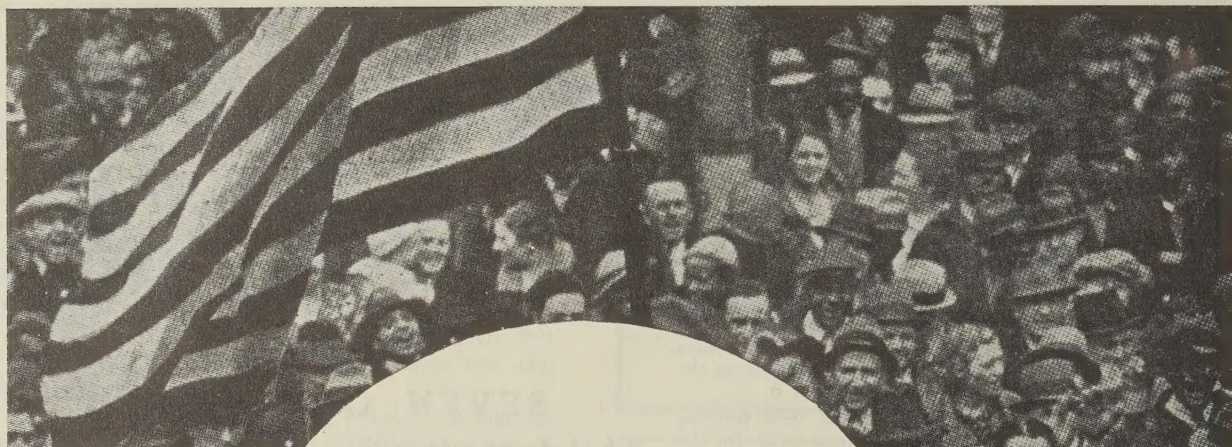
SEVEN QUESTIONS!

What do you think? What would you do?

1. Do you think that the articles in the *Review* have been too "heavy"? Yes ☐ No ☐
A. If so would you like to see
☐ stories ☐ sketches ☐ popular science
☐ poems ☐ humor ☐ current sports
B. Instead, would you like to see more political articles?
Yes ☐ No ☐
☐ international affairs ☐ national affairs
☐ studies of youth elsewhere
☐ statistical studies
2. Do you think that the *Review* should carry serious articles on sex? Yes ☐ No ☐
3. Do you think that the *Review* should carry artistic criticism? Yes ☐ No ☐
☐ book reviews ☐ theatre critique
☐ art reviews ☐ movie reviews
4. Do you like our present cover? Yes ☐ No ☐
5. Do you think that the *Review* should reflect YCL organizational life more than it does? Yes ☐ No ☐
If so, would you have
☐ reports of what branches are doing?
☐ photos and stories of branch life?
☐ detailed discussion of particular branch problems?
☐ YCL gossip?
6. In the August issue, which article do you like best?
.....
(name article and author)
In your opinion, which is best written?
.....
which contains most information?
.....
which would you like to see more of?
.....

7. Has the *Young Communist Review* helped you understand YCL policies? Yes ☐ No ☐
Yours for a better magazine,
Name
Branch and City

Cut this out after you have answered the questions and return to Editor, *Young Communist Review*, 35 East 12th St., N. Y. C.



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